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HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND

1701—1713

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HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND

COMPRISING

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE

UNTIL THE PEACE OF UTRECHT

31141

By EARL STANHOPE

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE

1701—1713

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PREFACE.

THIS VOLUME has been written, in accordance with the wish expressed to me by several persons, as a connecting link between the close of Lord Macaulay's History of England and the commencement of that from the Peace of Utrecht, which I published while still bearing the title of Mahon. It is to be observed, that Lord Macaulay did not live to complete, as was hoped, the reign of William the Third. It is sometimes supposed that he did so, since his final volume, as published by his family, contains an excellent account of the last illness and decease of the King. But this is only a detached passage which stands separate from the rest. Of the last part of that reign, a period of between one and two years, there is unhappily with one other exception no record from his pen. That deficiency has here to be supplied.

In the reign of Anne the main figure in war and politics—around which it may be said that all the others centre—is undoubtedly Marlborough. I have to the best of my ability endeavoured to weigh his character in the scales of impartial justice—believing as I do that these scales have not been held even in the hands of preceding writers. In some we may trace

blind adulation; in some others most unsparing hostility.

Although in several points of my narrative I differ from the conclusions which Archdeacon Coxe has formed, I have constantly derived the greatest advantage from the ample extracts of the Blenheim Papers which he has inserted in his Life of Marlborough. I allude especially to the confidential correspondence of the Duke with the Duchess and Lord Godolphin. There are some further extracts from these Papers which Archdeacon Coxe had made but did not publish, and which (forming part of his large manuscript collection) are now at the British Museum. Of these also I have been able to make use. But, on the other hand, I cannot acknowledge any obligation to the series of Marlborough's letters, taken from Mr. Cardonnel's copy-books, and published by Sir George Murray in 1845. Of these letters, filling five large volumes, by far the greater part as I conceive was neither written nor dictated by the Duke but prepared by his Secretaries, at his order and for his signature. They are merely formal or relative to matters of minute detail, and scarce ever in my judgment afford any thing of historical interest.

It will be seen by my notes, where and how far I have availed myself of other family papers hitherto unpublished. But I desire at this place to express my great obligation to the Government of His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, which in the most liberal manner allowed me access to the Archives of the Foreign Office at Paris during the last years of Louis the Fourteenth. Thus I was enabled to obtain transcripts of the secret

letters addressed to M. de Torcy by Abbé Gaultier, during his negotiations in England,—letters of the highest value to the history of parties at that time. Considerable extracts from them had been already made by Sir James Mackintosh in 1814; but these have remained in manuscript, with the exception of some passages cited in the Edinburgh Review, as I had occasion to explain in a note (vol. i. p. 43) to my History of England.

It should be borne in mind throughout this work that, as in my previous History, dates when not otherwise specified are given in England according to the Old Style which was then the legal one; but in foreign countries, except Russia and Sweden, according to the New. There is some inconvenience in this method, but, as it seems to me, there would be more in any other.

GROSVENOR PLACE, *February* 1870.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

A. D.		Page
1700	Prospects of the Spanish Succession	1
	Death of Charles the Second of Spain	2
	His Will	3
	Philip, Duke of Anjou, proclaimed	4
	Close of the Session in England	5
	Lord Somers dismissed	6
	Disturbances at Edinburgh	7
	Death of the Duke of Gloucester	8
	Jacobite intrigues	9
	Bombardment of Copenhagen	10
	William returns to England	11
	Calls the Tories to his Councils	12
1701	The General Election	13
	Intercepted letters from France	14
	"Jack Howe"	15
	Negotiations at the Hague	16
	Act of Settlement passed	17
	The Electress Sophia	19
	Impeachment of Lord Somers	20
	Articles of charge against him	21
	The Kentish Petition	23
	The five Kentish gentlemen sent to prison	24
	The Legion Memorial	25
	Case of Lord Haversham	26
	Lord Somers acquitted	27
	Basis of the Grand Alliance	28
	Death of James the Second	29
	General Election in England	30
1702	Change of Ministry	31
	Case of Thomas Colepepper	32
	Act of Abjuration	33
	Death of William the Third	34
	His character	35

CHAPTER II.

A. D.		Page
1702	Accession of Anne	37
	Her character	38
	Her first speech in Parliament	39
	Ascendency of Marlborough	41
	His embassy to Holland	42
	The Coronation	43
	Godolphin named Lord Treasurer	44
	Rochester dissatisfied	45
	Prince George named Lord High Admiral	46
	Progress of the Grand Alliance	47
	Marlborough takes the field	48
	Siege of Kaiserswerth	49
	The Hanoverian troops	50
	Campaign upon the Meuse	51
	Fort St. Michael stormed	52
	Liege surrendered	53
	Marlborough seized by freebooters	ib.
	His escape	54
	Plot of the French in North Holland	55
	The Elector of Bavaria	56
	Philip of Spain	57
	Victor Amadeus of Savoy	58
	English expedition against Cadiz	59
	The Spanish galleons destroyed at Vigo	60
	General Election in England	61
	Visit of the Queen to Oxford	62
	Meeting of Parliament	63
	Election Petitions	64
	Marlborough created a Duke	65
	Great generosity of the Queen	66

CHAPTER III.

	Character of Marlborough	67
	His great qualities	69
	Charm of his manner and address	70
	His two acts of treachery	72
	His love of money	73
	Parallel between him and Belisarius	75
	Death of his only son	76
	Provision for Prince George	77
	Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity	78

A. D.		Page
1702	Eagerly pressed by the Queen	80
1703	But defeated by the Lords	81
	Rochester resigns	82
	Cabals of the High Tories	83
	Project of Union with Scotland	84
	The new Scottish Parliament	85
	Letter from the Queen to the Privy Council	86
	Resentment of the Estates	87
	Fletcher of Saltoun	88
	The Act of Security	89
	Close of the Session at Edinburgh	90
	Order of the Thistle revived	91
	Rising of the Protestants in Languedoc	92
	Accession of Portugal to the Grand Alliance	93
	Campaign in Southern Germany	94
	Victory of the French at Hochstädt	95
	And at Spires	96
	Marlborough at the Hague	97
	Dilatory counsels of the Dutch	98
	General Obdam defeated	99
	Insurrection in Hungary	101
	The Archduke Charles	102

CHAPTER IV.

	The Great Storm	104
	Havoc throughout the country	106
	Loss of life	107
	Proclamation for a General Fast	108
	The Houses of Convocation at strife	109
	The Occasional Conformity Bill revived	110
	But again defeated	111
	The Methuen Treaty with Portugal	ib.
	The Archduke at Windsor	112
1704	And at Lisbon	113
	The Queensberry Plot	114
	Trial of David Baillie	115
	Arrest of Sir John Maclean	116
	Case of Ashby and White	117
	Queen Anne's Bounty	118
	The Session closed	120
	Nottingham resigns	121
	Robert Harley	122
	Henry St. John	ib.
	Armies set on foot by France	123

A. D.		Page
1704	Marshal Marsin in Bavaria	124
	Plans of Marlborough	125
	Politics of the Court of Berlin	127
	Marlborough marches to Mayence	128
	Prince Eugene	129
	The Margrave of Baden	130
	Marlborough on the Danube	132
	His victory on the Schellenberg heights	133
	Negotiations with the Elector of Bavaria	135
	Advance of Marshal Tallard	136
	He marches with the Elector to Dillingen	137
	Marlborough and Eugene at Dapfheim	138
	Preparations for battle	139

CHAPTER V.

	Strength of the two armies	140
	The ground at Blenheim described	141
	The Allies march forward	142
	Public prayers	143
	The battle begins	145
	Conflict of Eugene on the right	146
	And of Marlborough on the left	147
	The victory is decided	148
	Marshal Tallard made prisoner	149
	The French infantry surrenders	150
	Flight of the Elector and Marsin	151
	Interview of Tallard with Marlborough and Eugene	152
	Losses of the French	153
	Magnanimity of Louis the Fourteenth	154
	Marlborough and Eugene at Ulm	156
	Cabals in England	157
	Siege and reduction of Landau	158
	The campaign in Italy	159
	Marlborough goes to Berlin	160
	Jean Cavalier	161
	War in Portugal	162
	British fleet in the Mediterranean	163
	Gibraltar taken	164
	Meeting of the Scottish Parliament	165
	And of the English	166
	Conflict between them	167
	Occasional Conformity Bill	168
	Marlborough returns to England	169

A. D.		Page
1704	Grant to him of Blenheim	170
	And of Mindelheim	171
1705	Case of Ashby and White continued	173
	Visit of the Queen to Cambridge	174
	The Whig Junto of Five Peers	175
	They negotiate with Godolphin	176
	The General Election	177

CHAPTER VI.

	Plans for the next campaign	178
	Death of the Emperor	179
	Marshal Villeroy advances	180
	Marlborough joins Overkirk	181
	And forces the French lines	182
	Affair at Neer Ische	183
	General Slangenberg	184
	Marlborough marches to Genappe	185
	Battle designed at Waterloo	186
	The Dutch chiefs	187
	Prince Louis of Baden	188
	Gibraltar besieged by the Spaniards	189
	Lord Peterborough in command	190
	He touches at Altea	191
	And proceeds to Barcelona	192
	His design on Montjuich	*193*
	His entire success	*194*
	Lord Charlemont's failure	*195*
	Retrieved by Peterborough	*196*
	Barcelona surrenders	*197*
	Great energy of Peterborough	*198*
	His railing correspondence	*200*
	State of affairs at Edinburgh	*201*
	The "Squadrone Volante"	202
	Lord Sunderland sent to Vienna	203
	Cowper appointed Lord Keeper	204
	Address moved by Lord Haversham	205
	The Regency Bill	206
	Cry of "the Church in danger"	207
	Debate in the Lords	208
	Marlborough at Vienna	209
1706	His return to England	210
	Commissioners for Union with Scotland	211
	Their first meetings	212

CHAPTER VII.

A. D.		Page
1706	Design of Marlborough upon Italy	213
	His discussions with the Dutch	214
	His command in Flanders	215
	He comes in sight of the French army	216
	Battle of Ramillies	217
	Losses on both sides	219
	Brussels and Ghent surrendered	220
	Antwerp and Ostend reduced	221
	Siege of Menin	222
	And of Dendermond	223
	Government of the Low Countries	224
	Eugene marches to Turin	225
	His victory over Marsin	226
	Success of Peterborough at San Mateo	227
	And at Fuente de Higuera	228
	Barcelona besieged by the French	229
	Peterborough summoned back	230
	He goes on board the British fleet	231
	And raises the siege	232
	A Council of War	233
	Peterborough returns to Valencia	234
	Balls and Bullfights given by him	235
	The Portugal army	236
	It marches to Madrid	237
	Aragon rises in revolt	238
	"The Vienna crew"	239
	King Charles at Zaragoza	240
	Madrid relinquished by the Allies	241
	Complaints of Peterborough	242
	He quits the army	243
	His adventure at Huete	244
	He embarks for Italy	245
	Retreat of the Allies from Castille	246
	Disappointment in England	247
	Overtures for peace	248
	Opposed by Marlborough	249

CHAPTER VIII.

	Progress of the Scottish Treaty	251
	The Equivalent	252
	The National Debts	253
	Political arrangements	254

A. D.		Page
1706	The Houses of Parliament	255
	Articles of Union agreed to	256
	State of parties in Scotland	257
	The Cameronians	258
	Petitions and addresses	259
	Great speech of Lord Belhaven	260
	Decisive division	262
	Riots at Glasgow	263
	The Act of Security	264
	Points of Excise and Finance	265
	Lord Sunderland, Secretary of State	266
	Promotions in the Peerage	267
1707	Supplementary Estimates moved by St. John	268
	The Scottish Parliament meets	269
	Intended Protest	270
	Death of Lord Stair	271
	The Treaty of Union passed	272
	The Scottish Peers	273
	Debates upon the Union in England	274
	Views of the High Churchmen	275
	Sir John Packington	276
	Talbot, Bishop of Oxford	277
	Speeches of Halifax and Nottingham	278
	The Royal Assent	279
	Subsequent results of the Union	280
	Charge of bribery in its passing	282
	Case of Lord Banff	284
	Lingering national prejudices	285
	Apprehended frauds in trade	286
	The new Great Seal of the United Kingdom	287
	Last patents of Scottish peerage	288

CHAPTER IX.

	Peterborough again in Spain	289
	His advice at a Council of War	290
	Charges against him in England	291
	His recall	292
	He goes back to Italy	293
	Divided command in Valencia	294
	Galway and Das Minas advance	295
	Their defeat at Almanza	296
	Taunts of Peterborough	298
	Valencia recovered by the French	299

A. D.		Page
1707	And Zaragoza	299
	Death of the Margrave of Baden	300
	Charles the Twelfth near Leipsick	301
	Marlborough goes to visit him	302
	The Swedes retire from Saxony	303
	Defeat of the Margrave of Bareith	304
	Invasion of Provence	305
	Conquest of the kingdom of Naples	306
	Toulon besieged	307
	The Allies retire from Provence	308
	Campaign in Flanders	ib.
	Visit of Peterborough to Charles the Twelfth	309
	Successes of the French in this year	310
	Shipwreck off the Scilly Isles	311
	Sir Cloudesley Shovel	312
	Cabals at the English Court	313
	Mrs. Abigail Hill	314
	Secret influence of Harley	315
	The Sees of Exeter and Chester	316
	Dr. Trimnel promoted	317
	Admiral Churchill accused	318
	Meeting of Parliament	319
	Conduct of the High Tory chiefs	320
	Lord Peterborough's case	321
	Debate in the Lords upon it	322
	Speech of Marlborough	323
	A Select Committee	325
	Joint Address to the Queen	326

CHAPTER X.

	Discontents in Scotland	327
	Secret mission of Colonel Hooke	328
	Bill to render the Union more complete	329
1708	Charge against Harley	330
	William Gregg brought to trial	331
	Distress of the Queen	333
	Great speech of Somers	334
	Harley and St. John resign	335
	Robert Walpole in office	336
	Treaty of Commerce with Spain	337
	French expedition to Scotland	339
	The Pretender on board	340
	Failure of the enterprise	341

A. D.		Page
1708	Numerous arrests	342
	Vendome in Flanders	343
	Staremberg and Stanhope in Spain	344
	Marlborough at the Hague	345
	His visit to Hanover	346
	The campaign commences	347
	Ghent and Bruges surprised by the French	348
	And Oudenarde besieged	349
	March of Marlborough and Eugene	350
	Battle of Oudenarde	351
	Project of invading France	354
	Lille invested	355
	Volunteers in the Allies' camp	356
	Marshal Boufflers	357
	The city of Lille surrenders	358
	And the citadel also	359
	Ghent recovered	ib.
	Campaign in Catalonia	360
	Expedition against Minorca	361
	Active measures of Stanhope	362
	St. Philip's Castle taken	363
	Port Mahon	364
	Negotiation with the Duke of Orleans	365

CHAPTER XI.

	Meeting of Parliament	366
	The appointment of Somers pressed	367
	Cabal with the Duke of Hamilton	368
	Imprisonment and death of Belhaven	369
	Lord Griffin and the Jacobite chiefs	370
	Conversations with Marlborough	371
	Somers restored to office	372
	Death of Prince George	373
1709	Addresses to the Queen	374
	Lord Orford	375
	The Laws of Treason	376
	Act of Grace and Free Pardon	377
	Public distress in France	378
	Overtures for Peace	379
	President Rouillé	380
	Terms insisted on by the Allies	381
	Marquis de Torcy at the Hague	382
	His offer of a bribe to Marlborough	383

A. D.		Page
1709	Further conference between them	384
	Concessions tendered by Torcy	385
	Difficulties felt by the Allies	386
	Their Preliminary Articles	387
	The negotiation broken off	388
	Marlborough and Eugene in Flanders	390
	Project of besieging Mons	391
	Battle of Malplaquet	392
	Heavy losses on both sides	395
	The Duchess of Marlborough	396
	"Malbrook s'en va en guerre"	397
	Mons surrenders	398
	Campaign in Portugal	399
	The Swedes defeated at Pultawa	400
	Home politics	ib.
	Office of Captain General for life	401
	New Board of Admiralty	402

CHAPTER XII.

	Henry Sacheverell	404
	His Sermon at St. Paul's	405
1710	Proceedings of the House of Commons	406
	Sacheverell committed to custody	407
	Case of Colonel Hill	408
	Sacheverell impeached	409
	His trial by the House of Lords	411
	His defence by Sir Simon Harcourt	412
	Popular feeling in his favor	413
	His own speech	414
	Sentence of the Peers	415
	Popular rejoicings	416
	Close of the Session	417
	Shrewsbury called to office	418
	Pretensions of Marlborough	419
	Conferences for Peace at Gertruydenberg	420
	Opposition of Austria and Savoy	421
	The war recommences	422
	Project of surprising Calais	423
	Douay taken	424
	Dismissal of Sunderland	425
	Joint Memorial to Marlborough	426
	Violent course of the Duchess	427
	Landing in Languedoc	428

A. D.		Page
1710	Campaign in Catalonia	429
	Staremberg and Stanhope advance	431
	They pass the river Noguera	432
	Battle of Almenara	433
	March to the Ebro	434
	"Barranca de los Muertos"	435
	Battle of Zaragoza	436
	Flight of King Philip	437
	Dismissal of Godolphin	438
	Resignation of the Whig Ministers	439
	New appointments	440
	Whigs and Tories of 1710	441

CHAPTER XIII.

	The General Election	443
	Contest at Westminster	444
	Close of the Flanders' campaign	445
	Staremberg and Stanhope at Zaragoza	ib.
	They march into Castille	446
	And enter Madrid	447
	The Portugal army	448
	The Duke de Vendome	450
	The Allies at Ciempozuelos and Toledo	451
	Their Council of War	452
	They commence their retreat	453
	Active pursuit of Vendome	454
	He surrounds the English at Brihuega	455
	Capitulation of Stanhope	456
	Dilatory march of Staremberg	457
	Battle of Villa Viciosa	458
	St. Leocadia	459
	Spanish Ballads and broad-sides	460
	Meeting of Parliament	461
	Vote of Thanks to Marlborough refused	462
	Return of the Duke to England	463
	His interview with the Ministers	464
1711	He desires to be reconciled	465
	He supports Lord Galway	466
	On his knees to the Queen	467
	The resignation of the Duchess compelled	468
	Negotiation for Peace	469
	Abbé Gaultier	470
	His secret letters to Torcy	471
	His mission to Paris	472

CHAPTER XIV.

A. D.		Page
1711	Case of the Palatine emigrants	474
	Harley assailed by Guiscard	476
	Guiscard dies of his wounds	477
	Proceedings in Parliament	478
	Vote to build fifty new churches	479
	Death of the Emperor	480
	Harley created Earl of Oxford	481
	Deaths of three Cabinet Ministers	482
	Plans for the campaign in Flanders	483
	Eugene summoned home	484
	The Non Plus Ultra	485
	Tokens of respect to Fénélon	486
	Bouchain taken	487
	Expedition against Quebec	488
	Its utter failure	489
	Negotiation with France continued	ib.
	Prior sent to Paris	490
	And Mesnager to London	491
	Preliminary Articles signed	492
	Dissatisfaction of the Dutch	493
	Count Gallas forbid the Court of England	494
	Pamphlets and lampoons	495
	Pageant designed in London streets	496
	Plans of the Whig chiefs	497
	Their coalition with Nottingham	498
	Memorial from Hanover	499
	Contest in the Lords	500
	The Whigs prevail	501
	The Occasional Conformity Bill	502
	The Scottish Peers	503
	Deposition of Sir Solomon Medina	504
	Statement in reply of Marlborough	505
	The Duke dismissed from all his employments	506
	Creation of twelve new Peers	507
	Lady Masham	508

CHAPTER XV.

1712	Mission of Prince Eugene to England	510
	Conferences at Utrecht begun	511
	The Pretender writes to the Queen	512
	Robert Walpole sent to the Tower	514
	Votes against Marlborough and Cardonnel	515

A. D.		Page
1712	The Duke's own vindication	515
	French project of a peace	516
	Dissatisfaction in England	517
	The Duke of Ormond goes to Flanders	518
	New proposals from France	519
	Counter project of the English Ministers	520
	Secret advices from Gaultier	521
	The "restraining orders"	522
	Objections stated by Marlborough	524
	His challenge to Earl Poulett	525
	Message of the Queen on the terms of Peace	526
	Debates in both Houses	528
	Armistice concluded with France	529
	Ormond separates from Eugene	530
	St. John created Viscount Bolingbroke	531
	His visit to Paris	532
	"Harré et Robin"	533
	Duel of the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun	534
	Success of the French at Denain	535
	Death of Vendome	536
	And of Godolphin	537
	The Godolphin Papers	538
	Marlborough departs from England	539
1713	The Pretender departs from France	540
	Delays in the negotiation	541
	Peremptory language of Bolingbroke	542
	Its powerful effect	543
	Peace of Utrecht signed	544

CHAPTER XVI.

THE AGE OF ANNE.

	Page
Galaxy of great names	545
Honor paid to literature on all sides	546
The party writers: Swift	548
Defoe	549
Anonymous pamphlets	551
Satires and parodies	552
The New Atalantis	554
First rise of Addison	555
His tragedy of Cato	556
Collections of periodical essays	558
The Tatler	559

A. D.		Page
1713	The Spectator - - - - - -	560
	Sir Roger de Coverley - - - - -	561
	State prosecutions - - - - -	562
	The Guardian - - - - - -	564
	The Court of Queen Anne - - - -	565
	Country life in her reign - - - -	567
	Life in cities and towns - - - - -	569
	Trades and professions - - - -	570
	High spirit of the people - - - -	572

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE first year of the new century found the Peace of Ryswick still unbroken. All the great nations desired its continuance, all shrunk from any possible renewal of the conflict. Yet all felt that one black cloud still remained upon the sky. So long as the Spanish succession was unsettled no peace in Europe could be deemed secure.

To guard against this danger so far as human foresight could avail the second Treaty of Partition was signed in March 1700. The contracting parties were England, Holland and France. In this treaty as in the preceding dominions were parcelled out as more or less convenient to their rulers and with no view whatever to the welfare or the feeling of the nations to be ruled. The sole object was to trim the balance between the rival claimants, the Dauphin and the Archduke Charles. It was stipulated that the Archduke should succeed as King of Spain, his monarchy to comprise besides Spain itself, the Indies and the Netherlands. The Dauphin on the other hand was to receive the kingdom of Naples and Sicily and the province of Guipuzcoa. There were further clauses enabling him to obtain the Duchy of Lorraine in exchange for the Duchy of Milan and providing against any possible junction on the same head of the Spanish and Imperial Crowns.

CHAP. I. 1700.

To make this scheme effectual it should have been kept secret; and this among other causes the popular forms of the Dutch Government forbade. Even the first rumours that such a treaty was pending aroused all the pride of Castille. It was not against France however that the resentment of the Spanish statesmen was directed. Their only chance to maintain their monarchy entire lay in some possible change of purpose in Louis the Fourteenth. It was against England that their anger blazed high. While the Dutch and French diplomatists were suffered to remain at Madrid, Mr. Alexander Stanhope the English Envoy received an order from the King of Spain to depart from the Spanish dominions.

Charles the Second the unhappy King of Spain was already a decrepit old man before the age of thirty-nine. Childless, and without the hope of children, weak alike in body and in mind, he faltered in helpless perplexity when pressed to make a Will. Sometimes his inclination pointed to the Austrian Princes as his nearest kinsmen, and sometimes to the Bourbon Princes because they might keep his monarchy entire. Cardinal Porto Carrero the Archbishop of Toledo and at this time his principal adviser took the latter side. So did also the courtiers that were most around him. One of whom he sought counsel was the Count San Estevan. "Speak freely," said the King. "Tell me what you think would be the evil of the Partition Treaty." "Sir," replied the Count in a mystic tone, "recollect that our Saviour in the Garden of Olives found consolation in the thought 'of them which thou gavest me have I lost none.'"[1] The King it is added was moved even to tears.

Under such impulses the poor King decided, or to speak more truly allowed others to decide for him. He signed and sealed in due form the Will which they prepared. On the 1st of November, at three o'clock in

[1] St. John, Gospel ch. xviii. ver. 9; Mémoires de Louville, vol. i. p. 99.

the morning, that "long disease his life" came to a close. Then all was stir in the palace. The antechamber was thronged with priests and nobles with diplomatists and statesmen, while the Will was opened by the Ministers within. At length they came forth, and the great result was publicly announced. It appeared that Philip Duke of Anjou the second son of the Dauphin was named the heir to the universal Spanish Monarchy. In the event of the King of France refusing the succession for his grandson, Charles Archduke of Austria was named as the next heir. 1700.

The paramount object was of course to avert all projects of partition; and in that point of view the will was most gladly acquiesced in by the leading statesmen and by the popular opinion in Castille. It was to Versailles however that all eyes at this juncture turned. Would the King of France accept or reject the Spanish Will? Louis seemed for a time to waver. On the one side were the faith of the recent treaties, and the fear of a formidable war; on the other the entreaties of his family, and stronger even than the feeling of family affection, the feeling of family pride. Louis could not withstand the temptation to see his own grandson installed as the successor of his constant rival. His decision once taken was announced with all that majestic grace in which Louis far exceeded all the princes of his time. One morning the folding doors at Versailles were thrown open and the flood of courtiers poured in. Louis advanced and pointing to the youthful Duke of Anjou by his side, "Gentlemen"—thus spoke LE GRAND MONARQUE and never did he seem greater than that day —"behold the King of Spain." [2]

Philip the Fifth—for by that title was the new Sovereign proclaimed—found his rule acknowledged not only in Spain but in all the European dependencies of the Spanish Crown; at Naples, at Milan, and at Brussels

[2] Mémoires de St. Simon, vol. iii. p. 39, ed. 1829.

CHAP. I. 1700.

no less than at Madrid. Setting out from Paris in the first days of December he made a joyful progress through Biscay and Castille and entered the Spanish capital with loud acclamations from the people. It seemed as though his accession to the Crown would be easy and secure. It seemed as though under his name the Court of Versailles would rule all things at its pleasure beyond the Pyrenees. We find the English ambassador at Paris express at this period a feeling of almost despair. "I fear," he writes, "that the affairs of Europe are in a very ill condition and that in a few years France will be master of us all."[3]

The circumstances of the time may excuse these gloomy forebodings. France and Spain united could only be withstood by a combination of other Powers and such a combination could not at that period be obtained. Portugal looked coldly on. The Princes of Germany showed no concern. The Princes of Italy rather inclined to the French side. The Emperor Leopold, indeed, as the heir male of the House of Austria and the person most affected by the transfer of the Spanish Succession to the House of Bourbon was prompt and eager in his wrath; he recalled his ambassador from Madrid and prepared himself for war. He looked in this emergency to the support of at least the Maritime Powers, as England and Holland were at that period termed. He clung to the hope that England would follow the impulse of its Sovereign and Holland the impulse of its Stadtholder. The personal wishes of King William could not be for a moment doubtful. Resistance to French aggrandizement had been the main pursuit, the main passion, of his life. But his authority both as Sovereign and Stadtholder had been for some time past upon the wane. Domestic discords, foreign influences, were rife around him. He had to face the

[3] Earl of Manchester to Mr. Alexander Stanhope, at the Hague, Dec. 3, 1700.

most formidable difficulties while bereft of the popular favor in both countries, with resolute antagonists and luke-warm friends, and while at the same time his health was failing and his energy impaired.

It has been related by Lord Macaulay—and this is the last consecutive passage in his History which he was enabled to complete—how painful and humiliating for William had been the Session of 1700; how abruptly he had closed it on April the eleventh; and how for the first time since the Revolution without any Speech from the throne. The close of that Session had left his affairs in evil plight; with his Dutch Guards dismissed; his grants of Crown property to his former mistress, Elizabeth Villiers, brought to light and denounced; and his most trusted Minister, the Lord Chancellor Somers, threatened with a vote of censure. Moody and secluded the King remained at Hampton Court, while his young favourite the Earl of Albemarle was plied in every quarter with remonstrances which it was hoped would through that channel reach the Royal ear.

The Tory chiefs above all, eager to strike a blow at their arch-enemy urged on Albemarle that the Lord Chancellor was in fact the main obstacle in the way of reconciliation. Of no man had the conduct given so much umbrage; of no man would the dismissal cause so much satisfaction. It may be doubted whether William in his hey-day of health and fame would have listened for one moment to such representations. He would have stood by his faithful servant and tried a Dissolution of the Parliament before a rupture of the Ministry. But now he was bowed down both by increasing illness and by conscious unpopularity. He exhorted Somers when next he saw him to resign his office; but Somers declared that he had consulted his friends and was resolved to take no step that should indicate either guilt or fear. Then on the 17th of April

CHAP. I. 1700.

the King sent to him the Earl of Jersey with a peremptory order to return the Seals; and sent back they were accordingly by Somers to the King.

It might be easy to dismiss Lord Somers but it was found a hard matter to replace him. In that precarious state of politics the highest prize of the Law seemed to be no longer an object of ambition. Both the Lord Chief Justice Holt and the Attorney General Trevor declined the Seals. At length after more than a month's delay they were accepted with the title of Lord Keeper by Sir Nathan Wright—"in whom" writes Bishop Burnet "there was nothing equal to the post; much less to him who had lately filled it."[4]

Other changes were expected, tending to the Tory side; but they did not at this time take place. Meanwhile there was no one who appeared to take a lead in the conduct of the Ministry. There was a lull in public affairs corresponding with the languid condition of the King.

In Scotland as in England the Session of Parliament proved unprosperous and stormy. The disasters of Darien which Lord Macaulay has so well related roused a vehement flame to the north of Tweed. It was felt to be a transaction concerning the national honor as well as the national interest. It was taken up accordingly with all the uncompromising firmness that a proud people could display. Moreover as commonly happens in such cases there arose some personal bickerings to embitter the sense of public wrong. Lord Basil Hamilton had been deputed to go to London and lay the Scottish grievances before the King: but the King refused to admit Lord Basil to his presence. The Duke of Queensberry had been appointed by William as his Lord High Commissioner to the Estates, but the Estates would enter into no concert of measures with His Grace. It is difficult to say to what extremities

[4] History of his own Times, vol. iv. p. 446, ed. 1833.

the Scottish Parliament might have proceeded, had it not been for a timely prorogation.

The animosity in Scotland was of course most welcome to the very numerous adherents of the Stuarts in that kingdom, and they kept up the flame by a studied misrepresentation of the views and motives of the King. It was alleged that his repugnance to take vigorous measures of reprisal against Spain arose in no degree from his just anxiety to avert a war, nor yet from his punctual observance of treaties, but solely from his tenderness to the Dutch who dreaded lest the Scottish company might injure their own trade from Curaçoa. Such calumnies found ready credence. Thus reports the Earl of Melville of the malcontents on the 27th of June:—"It is certain whatever number of the Parliament be with them, they have almost all the people on their side. . . . There is no more speaking to people now than to a man in a fever."[5] Only a week before indeed Edinburgh had one evening witnessed some insolent successes of the mob, with abundance of bonfires and of broken panes. The rioters forced open the Tolbooth doors and set free some prisoners of their party. And as a token of their feelings towards their Sovereign they made the bands of music play as their first tune the song: "Wilful Willy, wilt thou be wilful still?"

On the 4th of July the King, having first appointed Lords Justices to govern in his absence, and turning his eyes in disgust from the affairs of both his kingdoms, embarked for his native country. It is probable that he felt as much pleasure as he was still capable of feeling when he found himself again amidst the trim gardens of Loo. There he applied himself to carry on the manifold negotiations resulting from the recent Treaty of Partition. But in less than a month after his arrival most painful tidings came to him from England. The

[5] See the Carstares State Papers, p. 544.

CHAP. I. 1700.

Duke of Gloucester was the only surviving child of seventeen whom the Princess Anne had borne, though not all to the full time. He had now attained the age of eleven and was Heir Presumptive to the Crown. William with most laudable zeal had spared no pains for the young Prince's training. Notwithstanding his own rooted distrust of the Earl of Marlborough he had named him Governor; accompanying the appointment with some gracious words most unusual in his mouth. "Teach him to be like yourself" he had said "and he will not want accomplishments."

As Preceptor William had selected a Prelate far from welcome to the largest party in the Church yet certainly distinguished by great learning, great diligence, and peculiar aptitude for teaching — Bishop Burnet. The young Duke was growing up with the reputation of an amiable temper and promising abilities when he was seized with a malignant fever. He expired on the 29th of July after an illness of only four days. William was deeply moved. Thus he writes to Marlborough: "It is so great a loss to me as well as to all England that it pierces my heart with affliction." [6]

The death of the Duke of Gloucester set adrift the Succession to the Crown. William, as every one knew, was in most precarious health. There was no probability of any further issue from Anne. If then the English people desired—as no doubt they would desire —that the Succession should be continued in the Protestant line, it would be needful in a new Act of Parliament to depart very widely from the regular order —to exclude entirely the descendants of Charles the First—and to revert to Sophia Electress Dowager of Hanover, a daughter of the Queen of Bohemia and a grand-daughter of James the First.

One immediate effect of this altered prospect was to

[6] Letter of August 4, 1700, in Coxe's Life of Marlborough. Coxe by a slip of the pen has made the month October.

add greatly to the chances of the titular Prince of Wales at St. Germain's—the Pretender as soon afterwards he began to be called. A large majority of Englishmen had been well content to reject his claims in favour of the Duke now deceased—who though his nephew was of almost exactly the same age and who was bred in an Englishman's faith, in an Englishman's feelings, at home. But there was a strong repugnance to adopt in his place the aged Princess at Hanover, who except by remote descent and the Protestant religion in another form, had nothing at all in common with this country. It was a repugnance which only the strongest sense of danger or of duty could surmount. Under these circumstances the Jacobites in England who had lain by inactive and languid ever since the peace with France again took heart. They despatched one of themselves Mr. Graham brother of Lord Preston on a secret mission to St. Germain's, and they planned not indeed the restoration of the aged tyrant but the succession of his son.

It is very remarkable that the Princess Anne herself appears to have participated in this change of views. So far as any feelings of family affection might remain to her they would probably on the loss of her only child turn towards her father and brother. We learn that she made a secret overture to the exiled King, requesting his permission to accept the Crown on the demise of him whom she styled the Prince of Orange, and expressing her wish to restore it to the rightful heir on a favourable opportunity.[7] The date of this singular communication is not given, but it seems natural to suppose that it did not take place in the lifetime of the Duke of Gloucester. "His Majesty" we are further told from the Stuart Papers "excused himself from that." It was indeed his fixed intention in case he survived as he said "the Prince of Orange" to land in England even though he found but three men to follow

[7] See Clarke's Life of James the Second, vol. ii. p. 559.

CHAP. I.

him, and to throw himself on the good feeling of the English people.

1700. In the north meanwhile a new war arose. Denmark, Russia and Poland had formed a combination against Charles the Twelfth, the youthful monarch of Sweden. William, beset as he was with dangers and perplexities of other kinds, was not willing to see that ancient kingdom, the bulwark of the Protestants in Germany, overpowered. He assumed, as well becomes at any time the Sovereign of England, the character of an umpire. He made earnest remonstrances to Denmark but in vain. Then he had recourse to more powerful arguments. He sent into the Baltic a fleet of thirty ships, English and Dutch, under Sir George Rooke, which drove the Danish ships to their harbours and proceeded to bombard the Danish capital.

This bombardment proved very different from that which England was destined to inflict upon the same capital a century afterwards. We are told that there was very little damage to their city and none at all to our fleet. But the very appearance of this fleet gave fresh spirit to the Swedes, and its timely aid was much more than seconded by the martial spirit which Charles himself displayed. In the month of August he appeared off Copenhagen at the head of a well-appointed expedition and compelled the Danes to sue for peace. Next turning his arms to the opposite shores of the Baltic he inflicted a signal defeat upon the Muscovites at the battle of Narva and prepared next year to pursue his victorious progress to Poland.

William did not return to England till past the middle of October. Besides the discontents arising from other causes he found a flame stirred up by the second Treaty of Partition. That Treaty which had been divulged in the course of the summer was little relished on the Continent and not at all in England. It was represented by the Tories and even by many of the Whigs as

tending to entangle us without necessity in foreign complications; as designed to benefit Holland at the expense of Great Britain; as having been framed by Dutch favourites instead of English Ministers. It was indeed on Portland and on Albemarle that William had mainly relied during these negotiations. Lord Somers seems to have been the only Minister of English birth whom William consulted or advised with in this affair; and when the fact was known or at least surmised it tended not a little to swell the outcry against both Somers and the King.

It was in this state of public feeling that there came the news to England—first of the death of the King of Spain—and next of the acceptance of his Will by the King of France. William was filled with resentment—the greater as he felt that it must for the present be restrained. He wrote in confidence as follows to Pensionary Heinsius: "The blindness of the people here is incredible. For though this affair is not public yet, it was no sooner said that the King of Spain's Will was in favor of the Duke of Anjou than it was the general opinion that it was better for England that France should accept the Will than fulfil the Treaty of Partition. . . . . It is the utmost mortification to me in this important affair that I cannot act with the vigour that is requisite and set a good example, but the Republic (of Holland) must do it; and I will engage people here, by a prudent conduct, by degrees, and without their perceiving it."[8]

In the course which William thus proposed to himself of imposing upon English politicians and artfully leading them forward to a point beyond what they desired or designed his first object was of course to postpone any present decision. Mr. Secretary Vernon announced that His Majesty must be allowed to consider a little

[8] Letter, dated Hampton Court, Nov. 16, 1700 (N.S.) and printed in the Hardwicke Collection.

CHAP. I. 1700.

what might be the consequence of so sudden a change in the Court of France. Meanwhile the King eager to obtain popular support by whatever channel resolved to carry out the policy which he had indicated in the previous spring—to dissever himself from the Whig connection and to call the Tories to his councils.

The Earl of Rochester was then regarded as the chief of the last named party, not so much from any weight or talents of his own, but as the uncle of the late Queen Mary and of the Princess Anne. On the 12th of December he was declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. At the same time were appointed Lord Godolphin, First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Tankerville Privy Seal, and Sir Charles Hedges one of the Secretaries of State in the room of the Earl of Jersey. Then it was that the faults of the Royal character dawned for the first time upon the party thus excluded. As we find it stated by an early writer of their own side "the Whigs also began to complain of the King's conduct, of his minding affairs so little, of his being so much out of the kingdom, and of his ill choice of favourites."[9] Yet William had not forgotten his old friends. The title of Halifax had become extinct in the course of this very year by the death of the only son of the great Marquess; and that title though with the inferior rank of Baron was now conferred by William on Charles Montague, so lately his Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer.

It was natural that the Whigs as a party should look mainly to an important public measure which the King at the same time adopted. To gratify his new advisers and to increase their probable power William agreed that the Parliament should be dissolved. Writs were issued accordingly at the middle of the month, the new Parliament being summoned to meet on the 6th of February.

In so momentous a crisis of home politics it is obvious

[9] Tindal's History, vol. iii. p. 75.

that William could form no decisive resolution on foreign affairs. Nor could he return any satisfactory answer to Count Wratislaw who at this period was despatched to him upon a special mission from the Court of Vienna. Meanwhile the agitation of his mind seriously impaired his health; nor did his Ministers past or present make any secret of the fact. Thus in one despatch for instance writes Secretary Vernon: "His Majesty is not very well; his appetite abates, and his legs are more swelled; but it chiefly arises from great thoughtfulness in relation to the public." [1] 1700.

It was manifest even in the first days of the New Year that the Tories would altogether prevail in the Elections. The cry against the Partition Treaties, against the Dutch favourites, and against the late Ministry as an abettor of such measures and such men, was too strong to be withstood. And when the two Houses met first on the 6th and then by Prorogation on the 10th of February there was an immediate trial of strength in the choice of Speaker. The Tories put forward their principal man, as he had rapidly grown to be, Robert Harley. On the other side there was proposed Sir Richard Onslow, a respectable gentleman but of no especial note. A division being taken the former was elected by 249 against 125; and this first triumph of the Tories gave as it were its colour to the entire Session that ensued. 1701.

The King in his opening speech which he delivered in person urged upon the Houses two objects of paramount importance—first to provide for the Succession to the Crown in the Protestant line—and next to consider maturely the altered state of affairs abroad in consequence of the death and the Will of the King of Spain. As regards the last point His Majesty found it requisite only three days afterwards to announce to them some further and far from favourable news. The

[1] To the Earl of Manchester, Dec. 30, 1700.

CHAP. I. 1701.

States of Holland under the influence of Pensionary Heinsius had resolved as William did in England to postpone for the present the paramount question, whether or not to recognize the Duke of Anjou as heir to the Spanish monarchy. But the King of France found means to quicken their decision. Under a former treaty with the Court of Madrid they had 15,000 of their troops in the Low Countries designed to garrison the chief towns on the French frontier. These troops were now surprised and overpowered by the sudden and well-concerted march of a French division.

Such a step on the part of Louis might seem bold yet in truth it was the boldness of consummate skill. It proved a master-stroke of policy. It changed in a moment the entire policy of the Dutch, who to obtain the release of their captive troops instantly as was asked of them acknowledged Philip as King of Spain.

It was expected by William that this further aggression on the part of France would kindle a resentful feeling in his English Parliament. With the same view he sent down to both Houses an intercepted letter from a leading Jacobite abroad. It was written by the Earl of Melfort to his brother the Earl of Perth. It boasted of "the favourable audience I had of Madam Maintenon," and discussed the chance of a landing in England with the aid of France. But when this letter was published it seems to have stirred the French diplomatists much more than the English legislators. M. de Tallard the ambassador in London loudly complained that so much weight was given to the words of a man whom he called a madman and enthusiast—a man he said who was banished from the Court of King James and had nothing at all to do with the Court of King Louis. His waiting upon Madame de Maintenon, Tallard added, was only to obtain the admission of two of his daughters into the nunnery of St. Cyr.[2] To the

[2] Secretary Vernon to the Earl of Manchester, Feb. 20, 1701.

same effect spoke the Ministers at Paris; and as a token of their displeasure with Melfort, they issued a Lettre de Cachet by which he was exiled to Angers. CHAP. I. 1701.

The House of Lords in answer to the communication of Melfort's letter readily agreed to thank the King and to pray "that he would be pleased to order the seizing of all horses and arms of Papists and other disaffected persons, and have those ill men removed from London according to law." But the Commons were chiefly intent upon denouncing the measures of the former Ministry. They took occasion in another Address a short time afterwards "to lay before His Majesty the ill consequences of the Treaty of Partition passed under the Great Seal of England, during the sitting of Parliament and without the advice of the same."

In the debates which now occurred on the Partition Treaty no man took a more active, it might be said, a more scurrilous, part against the Court than Mr. Howe, one of the members for Gloucestershire, commonly talked of as "Jack Howe." Thus it was quickly noised abroad how he said on one occasion "that His Majesty had made a felonious treaty to rob his neighbours!" [3]

William was at this time busily employed in a new negotiation. He had instructed Alexander Stanhope his Envoy at the Hague to deliver to Comte d'Avaux the French ambassador a series of proposals by which he hoped to secure the Netherlands from French control in spite of the succession of a French Prince. He asked that the Court of Versailles should agree to withdraw its troops from those countries, and not to introduce them again, and that the two cities of Ostend and Nieuport should be made over to himself to be garrisoned by his own troops or the troops of his allies as he might think fit. The States of Holland backed

[3] See the Kentish Memorial, charge XI.

CHAP. I. 1701.

this Memorial by another from themselves, claiming in like manner to hold and garrison ten cautionary towns which they named. On the other hand Comte d'Avaux tossed aside these proposals with much disdain. "As to the demand" he said "of withdrawing the French troops from the Spanish Netherlands I expected it and came prepared to give satisfaction on that point; but as to the other articles they could not be higher if my master had been defeated in four pitched battles." And the haughtiness of d'Avaux prevailed.

It was at a juncture so unpromising for William that Philip of Anjou being duly installed at Madrid addressed a solemn letter in Latin to his "most dear brother and cousin" in England. This epistle was read at a Cabinet Council on April the 13th. The Earl of Rochester and the rest of the new Ministry entreated William to own the King of Spain and to answer the letter accordingly. They alleged the example of Holland and they urged the point so strongly that William was obliged to yield. But he yielded with the worst possible grace, and with a repugnance which he made apparent to the world. The letter which he wrote in reply as to "Philip the Fifth" was not communicated either to the Privy Council or to the two Houses; nor did the King speak of it to any of the Foreign Ministers. It was through the Paris Gazette that it first became publicly known.[4]

The States of Holland were more and more disquieted at finding in spite of their representations the Netherland fortresses remain in possession of Louis. These ancient bulwarks against French ambition, so lately garrisoned in part by their own troops, were now turned, into instruments of menace to themselves. They apprehended a speedy attack on their own territory and they sent to William a formal demand for those succours

[4] Philip V. to William III. March 24, 1701, N. S. William to Philip, April 17, 1701, O. S.

which under the Treaty of 1677 England was bound to supply. William referred their Memorial to both Houses of Parliament and received in reply an assurance of their readiness to fulfil their obligations and to stand by their ancient Allies. But the Lords in their Address could not forbear one parting taunt against the King: "In the last place with great grief we take leave humbly to represent that the dangers to which your kingdoms and your allies have been exposed are chiefly owing to the fatal counsels that prevented your Majesty's sooner meeting your people in Parliament."

It must be owned that the advice which the King had given to the Houses in his opening Speech with regard to foreign affairs had not been answered in any degree to his satisfaction. Nor was he much better pleased with the mode in which they treated his other counsels for the Succession in the Protestant line. It was determined by the Commons at the suggestion of Harley that the person to be named should be taken last; and that as preliminaries there should be settled the conditions of the future Government. Each of these conditions when voted was found to convey a most severe reflection on the conduct and measures of the King. Thus in reference to his frequent visits to Holland it was provided that the future Sovereign should never go out of the country without consent of Parliament. Thus again bearing in mind his lavish rewards to his Dutch favourites the Bill proposed to enact that from the time its other clauses took effect no person born out of the kingdom unless of English parents should be capable of holding any office or place of trust, or receiving from the Crown any grant of land.

Inured to patience both by his Dutch temperament and by the vicissitudes of his chequered and eventful life, William most wisely dissembled his chagrin. He calmly looked on and watched the progress of the Bill

CHAP. I.

1701.

in the Commons. It advanced but very slowly. Yet the limitations were voted with little demur. One party thought them desirable; the other was determined to do nothing that could obstruct the passing of the Bill. Then the preliminaries as Harley called them having been accepted the name of the Electress Sophia as of the intended heir was first proposed by a member of very little weight and authority. It was Sir John Bowles, who was thought even then disordered in his senses; and who soon afterwards entirely lost them. Nor were there wanting persons to suspect that Sir John had been purposely put forward by the secret ill-wishers of the Bill with a view to make the matter less serious when moved by such a man.[5]

Certain it is that even after the name of the Electress had been brought forward and as it were agreed to, the Bill continued to linger. Though scarcely at all opposed it was most languidly supported. There were seldom above fifty or sixty members attending the Committee. All parties seemed to feel the calling of a stranger to the throne as a great evil, although in the opinion of many or of most it was by far the least of the evils then before us. In the Lords the progress of the measure was as easy and as listless. Finally then it passed both Houses; and on the 12th of June received the Royal Assent from the King on the Throne; an Assent accompanied by an expression of his thanks.

Some further details of the Act of Settlement and of the conditions which it imposed will be found in the first chapter of the History of England from the Peace of Utrecht—just before the time when it came into practical effect. At the period of its passing it may upon the whole be said that there was a warmer feeling for it in the country than in Parliament. It might have been less warm perhaps had the public in general surmised

[5] Burnet's History, vol. iv. p. 499.

that the Electress was very far from zealous for the doctrines of the Reformation. A singular proof of her own and of her husband's slackness is given in the Memoirs of Gourville, a most able Frenchman, the manager for the great Prince de Condé. Gourville states that being on a visit at Hanover in the year 1681 he saw by the side of the Duchess her daughter then a blooming girl of thirteen, and he inquired of the Duchess which was her religion. "She has none at all as yet," replied Sophia. "We are waiting to know what Prince she is to marry and whenever that point is determined she will be duly instructed in the religion of her future husband whether Protestant or Catholic."[6] This was the princess who subsequently became the first Queen of Prussia and was the friend and correspondent of Leibnitz.

Of Sophia herself we may add, that until the year 1701 when her claim to the Succession was for the first time taken up in earnest by the King and Parliament she had an inclination to the Exiled Family. There is an interesting letter from her written in French to Mr. Stepney who had been British Minister at her daughter's Court. Lord Chancellor Hardwicke used to call it the Princess Sophia's "Jacobite letter." In this we find her bewail the fate of the "poor Prince of Wales," who she says if he were to be restored would be warned by the misfortunes of his father and might be easily guided in a right direction.[7]

Thus in 1701 the Houses of Parliament had set before them two questions of surpassing magnitude—to maintain if possible the balance of power in Europe; and to provide for the Protestant Succession of the Crown in England. But the majority of the Lower House at least

[6] Mémoires de Gourville, vol. ii. p. 244, ed. 1782.

[7] Letter first printed in the Hardwicke Collection, vol. ii. p. 442. It was written from Pyrmont in the summer of 1700—not 1701 as the Editor alleges.

CHAP. I. 1701.

deemed these by no means the paramount objects. They showed far more interest and spent far more time in vindictive measures against their political opponents. They desired to renew the proceedings against Lord Somers for his share in the first Partition Treaty; and it was their wish to include in the same accusation the Earl of Portland, who was especially obnoxious to them as the chief of the Dutch favourites, the Earl of Orford and the newly made Lord Halifax.

Lord Somers being apprised of the measures that were designed against him appeared by his own request at the Bar of the Commons and offered some explanations of his conduct. To defend the Treaty itself might be a thorny task but to vindicate his own share in it was not so hard. He declared that when consulted by the King he had offered his best advice as a Privy Councillor and objected to many particulars if there were room for it. But when His Majesty again wrote to him declaring that he could not bring the French to better terms, then as His Majesty's Chancellor he would not refuse at His Majesty's desire to set the Great Seal to the document.

So full and clear was Lord Somers's personal defence that as many persons thought the vote would have turned in his favour if it had been taken at once. But the debate which arose was protracted till past midnight—a most unusual hour at that period—and the question being then put, "That John Lord Somers by advising His Majesty in the year 1698 to the Treaty for partition of the Spanish monarchy, whereby large territories of the King of Spain's dominions were to be delivered over to France, is guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour," it was affirmed by the narrow majority of 198 against 188. It was then ordered that Mr. Simon Harcourt—destined one day to sit in Somers's chair—should go up to the Lords and impeach him. Similar Resolutions of impeachment were carried against

the Earl of Portland (this indeed came first in point of time), against the Earl of Orford and against Lord Halifax. CHAP. I. 1701.

The framers of these impeachments however looked forward to little fruit from them, being well aware that whenever the trials came on the Lords accused would in all probability have a majority in their own House. But they would not thus be baulked of their prey. They had recourse to another expedient. They carried an Address to the King, praying that His Majesty pending the impeachments would dismiss the four Peers from his presence and councils for ever. Hereupon the Upper House took the field and certainly on strong grounds. The Lords presented a counter-address which was carried by a majority of 20 and which besought the King not to pass any censure upon the four Lords until they were tried upon their impeachments and judgment given according to the laws of the land. William was much perplexed by these conflicting Addresses. He could only evade the difficulty by returning a vague answer and obtaining a brief adjournment.

When after the adjournment the two Houses met again the impeachments were earnestly pressed and the charges in due form prepared. Somers was arraigned not only for his share in the Partition Treaties, but also as an abettor of Captain Kidd who at this very time was hanged with three of his crew under their conviction for piracy on the coast of Malabar. It was moreover alleged against Somers that he had passed the exorbitant grants from the Irish forfeited estates; that he had begged a share of them; that he had made arbitrary orders in the Court of Chancery, and been the cause of numerous delays. Against Portland were urged first the Partition Treaties concluded by his counsel; and next the vast part which had accrued to himself from the exorbitant grants of Crown lands. Halifax was charged on several points with official mal-

CHAP. I. 1701.

practices, as for waste of the timber to his own profit in the Royal forest of Dean; and while Chancellor of the Exchequer appointing his brother Christopher Montague to the office of Auditor in trust for himself, so that in fact he had impudently audited his own accounts. In the case of Orford it was imputed that he had given his countenance to Kidd the pirate, and been guilty of gross abuses in managing and victualling the fleet off the coast of Spain.

Such then were the Articles exhibited against these four Peers, of whom it may with truth be said that the Commons would have been quite ready to punish them before trial, and the Lords equally ready to protect them after conviction. With views so far divergent a controversy soon arose between the Houses—a long and tangled controversy, which there would be little interest to pursue through all its mazes. The main point grew to be that the Commons required further time to prepare their evidence, which the Lords were not willing to grant; and there really seems little to choose between the factious feelings displayed on either side.

But although the spirit of faction might be nearly equal in each of these contests it was certainly far most conspicuous when directed against Lord Somers from his acknowledged genius and his wide renown. From abroad we find the Duke of Shrewsbury so lately at the head of public affairs write in a strain of the utmost bitterness at the tidings which had reached him. "Had I a son" he adds "I would sooner breed him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman!"[8] At home we find a similar indignation aroused in the county of Kent. At the Quarter Sessions held in Maidstone on the 29th of April there was a strong desire expressed to make

[8] Letter dated Rome June 17, 1701, and first printed in the Hardwicke Collection, vol. ii. p. 440.

some representation of their feelings to the House of Commons. A Petition being drawn up accordingly by William Colepepper of Hollingbourne, the Chairman of the Sessions, it was signed by the Deputy Lieutenants present, above twenty Justices of the Peace, and a large number of freeholders. In its prayer it deprecated "the least distrust of His Most Sacred Majesty," and it implored the House "that your loyal Addresses may be turned into Bills of Supply."

The petition thus prepared was sent up to London by the hands of its framer William Colepepper. Four other Kentish gentlemen offered themselves to go with him. Their names (for they well deserve to be recorded) were Thomas Colepepper, David Polhill, Justinian Champneys and William Hamilton. Mr. Polhill, it may be noted, was the head of a family long settled and most honourably remembered at Chipstead Place in the parish of Chevening; descendants in the female line of Ireton and Cromwell.

These five gentlemen accordingly took charge of the petition to London. But the question then arose who should present it to the House. There was understood to be some peril in the performance of this duty. One of the County Members Sir Thomas Hales excused himself. The other Mr. Meredith would only consent on condition that when he presented the Petition he might be able to tell the House that several persons of good quality who had signed it were at the door quite ready to avow their deed. The five gentlemen were perfectly willing, and Mr. Colepepper exclaimed in allusion to some words of Luther at the Diet of Worms: "Though every tile upon St. Stephen's Chapel were a Devil I would have the petition presented!"

Presented the Petition was accordingly. The five gentlemen being then called in appeared at the Bar, and in reply to the Speaker's questions owned the signatures which were shown them to be truly theirs.

CHAP. I. 1701.

They were directed to "withdraw and expect the order of the House." Meanwhile a fierce debate began. In its terms the Petition was certainly less strong than many which in recent times have been presented without rebuke. But in the reign of William the Third it seems to have been held that the electors having once returned a House of Commons had little right to cavil at its conduct and were bound to sustain the assembly they had chosen.[9] On this ground the majority called out for vengeance on the audacious men of Kent.

Several attempts were made to shake their constancy during the debate. Members came out to them with pretended pity, and declared that if they would only yield a slight submission they would be excused. "If you will but say that you are sorry"—whispered Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe. "We will have no sorry!" one of the gentlemen exclaimed. Finally the debate which lasted for five hours having terminated the House came to a vote that the Kentish Petition was "scandalous, insolent, and seditious," and that the five gentlemen who had avouched it should be taken into custody. They were accordingly received as prisoners by the Serjeant-at-Arms.[1]

The matter did not end here. The petitioners or their friends employed an able pen believed to be Defoe's. A Memorial to the House of Commons was drawn up conveying divers charges and demands. It bore no signatures but was afterwards called the Legion Memorial because it concluded with—"Our name is Legion and we are many." Its language was extremely violent, which of course requires no great effort of courage where the accusation is anonymous and is intended to remain so.

[9] Observe a note upon this subject, with some additions dated 1845 in Hallam's Constitutional History, vol. iii. p. 272, ed. 1855.

[1] On this whole transaction see "The History of the Kentish Petition" printed in the Somers Tracts, second collection, vol. iv. p. 300.

Besides the graver and weightier questions of national politics, it also alleged some theological and some personal points. Thus we find the writer complain that the arm of the law is not raised against the Unitarians as they would now be termed—"having among you impudent deniers of our Saviour's divinity; and suffering them unreproved and unpunished to the infinite regret of all good Christians." Oh for the good old days of Calvin when Servetus could be burned alive!

Thus again as to another point the writer requires: "That John Howe aforesaid be obliged to ask His Majesty's pardon for his vile reflections or be immediately expelled the House."

This party pamphlet—for in truth it was no more—seems however to have assumed large dimensions in the eyes of its contemporaries. For this two reasons may be given. First it was drawn up with telling force. In the second place it accurately represented the feelings and the temper of the time. The Whigs were ready to adopt its sentiments and the Tories quite as ready to resent them. No measures could of course be taken by the last against an author whose name they did not know. But the majority in the Commons seemed as though a real Legion were in arms against them. Mr. Howe declared in the House that he was in danger of his life. Other Members talked as they might have done with a rebellion in prospect. An Address was carried to the King praying him to provide for the public peace and security; and a Committee was appointed to meet in the Speaker's chamber and to sit from day to day.

If it be considered that on this occasion as on others the Tory majority in the Commons overstepped all bounds of temper and discretion the same may be said with equal truth of the Whig majority in the Lords. A Protest against their precipitation in the case of Somers's trial had been signed by thirty-two Peers—

CHAP. I. 1701.

some of these among the foremost as Marlborough and Godolphin. Its terms were extremely moderate, since it did no more than express an apprehension that "our proceeding now to this trial may tend to the disappointment of all future trials on impeachments." Nevertheless this Protest was declared by the majority injurious to the honor of the House, and was ordered to be expunged from the Minutes.

The angry feeling which had sprung up between the Lords and Commons was further inflamed by the indiscretion of a very new Peer, John Thompson by name, and by title, Lord Haversham, who at a Free Conference held between the Houses on the 13th of June referred to a demand of the Commons that the Peers should not vote in their own case, and said that the Commons had plainly showed their own partiality in impeaching some Lords for facts in which others were equally concerned with them who yet were not impeached. At hearing these words the Managers of the Commons immediately withdrew from the Conference although they were assured as they went by the Duke of Devonshire that Lord Haversham had no authority from their House to use any such expressions. Mr. Harcourt reported the affair to the House of Commons which immediately resolved that Lord Haversham had used false expressions and that the Lords be desired to proceed in justice against him. Several other proceedings passed. The Lords showed no desire to screen Lord Haversham, but considering themselves a Court of Justice could not inflict upon him a summary punishment as the Commons appear to have expected.

Finally so far as Lord Somers's trial was concerned the Peers fixed it for the 17th of June. The Commons much incensed at having no further time allowed them resolved that they would not appear. Therefore on the day appointed the Lords having solemnly marched from their own House to Westminster Hall, and finding

no prosecutors present after the articles of impeachment and the answers had been read, as solemnly marched back whence they came. Then it was carried by a large majority that John Lord Somers be acquitted and that the impeachment be dismissed.

The resentment of the Commons was both promptly and fiercely shown. They passed some votes severely reflecting on what they termed "the pretended trial of Lord Somers" and declaring "that the Lords have refused justice to the Commons." The Lords passed some counter votes in a strain of equal violence. Scarce ever in our History had the flame between the two Houses blazed so high. But fortunately by this time the House of Commons had gone through the principal Bills and granted the desired supplies. It was found practicable to bring this stormy Session to an immediate close. On the 24th of June the King came down in person and in proroguing the Houses delivered a speech of three sentences, in which notwithstanding his many causes of displeasure with the Commons he expressed himself to them in very gracious terms.

Immediately on the close of the Session the Kentish gentlemen imprisoned by order of the House of Commons were as the law required set free. They had been treated with much distinction by their party as though Confessors of the Faith, and before they returned to the country they were splendidly entertained at Mercers' Hall at the charge of the citizens.[2]

Domestic affairs being now disposed of the King gave orders to send at once to Holland the succour that the Dutch States had asked — new levies and other regiments amounting in all to 10,000 men. Of this force he with excellent judgment overcoming his former

[2] Oldmixon's History of William III. &c. p. 238, folio ed. If we may rely on this writer (p. 235) confirmed by the Somers Tracts, vol iv. p. 306, they had not been allowed to converse during their captivity, and "the Serjeant seeing two of them talk together drew his sword upon his Deputy for permitting it."

CHAP. I. 1701.

prepossessions entrusted the command to the Earl of Marlborough, naming Marlborough also his ambassador to carry on the intended negotiations at the Hague.

A few days from the close of the Session the King as was his wont embarked for Holland. He appeared before the States at the Hague and delivered an Address to them, causing great pain to all present by his haggard countenance and altered looks. But his ill health could never divert him from his public cares. He watched with great anxiety the war which was waging this summer in Southern Europe. The Emperor still refused to acknowledge Philip as the rightful heir of Spain, and sent across the Alps an army for the conquest of the Milanese. On the other hand a French force advanced in support of—who could lately have supposed it?—the Spanish dominions. But besides this aid Philip had contracted a marriage with the second daughter of the Duke of Savoy,—the elder was already Duchess of Burgundy,—and thereby received the military alliance of that politic and wavering Prince. Little however was achieved on either side, and after a desultory campaign the two armies withdrew to winter quarters.

Meanwhile William was intent on framing a new system of alliances which might give a wider extension to the war. He felt the necessity of proceeding cautiously and step by step while the disposition of many European Courts was doubtful and a majority of his own House of Commons hostile to his schemes. Some Conventions of smaller import were negotiated with Denmark and with Sweden. But on the 7th of September there was concluded at the Hague under William's own direction a treaty of alliance between England, the States of Holland and the Emperor. This treaty bore only the signature of Marlborough on the part of England. It declared that nothing could be more conducive to the establishment of the general peace than to procure satisfaction to the Emperor in the

Spanish succession and sufficient security for the dominions and commerce of the Allies. Amicable means were to be employed for this object within a period of two months. But if the satisfaction aimed at were not in this manner attainable the Allies should then seek to recover the Low Countries from the hands of the French so as to be as heretofore a barrier between Holland and France, and to recover also for the Emperor's security the Duchy of Milan and other Italian territories. It was added that the English and Dutch should keep whatever they might conquer in the West Indies. This last article it is said was first suggested to the King by Lord Somers at the time of the Partition Treaty.

It is clear even from this slight summary that the first step which the new Allies had contemplated was a peaceful overture to France. Taking Louis as at this period supreme ruler of the governments both at Paris and Madrid it would be easy for him by some moderate concessions on the side of Flanders and some other concessions more or less considerable on the side of Italy, to establish his grandson without any contest as acknowledged Sovereign of Spain and the Indies. Or if only any fresh causes of offence were to be avoided, it might be practicable, the negotiation once begun, to spin it out from month to month until the fatal progress of disease had done its work on a noble frame—until he died who had been and who was the soul and spirit of the new confederacy—until the main hope of European independence should languish and expire with William of Nassau.

Happily for the balance of power there occurred at this very crisis the series of events which Lord Macaulay in a separate fragment has related with his usual felicity of diction and fullness of detail. He has told us how the exiled monarch James the Second died at St. Germains on the 17th of September—how Louis in

CHAP. I. 1701.

opposition to all his ablest counsellors acknowledged the titular Prince of Wales as King of England — how in consequence the fiercest flame of indignation burst forth in the British people—how William seized the opportunity to overrule his Tory Ministers and dissolve his Tory Parliament—and how the current of the new Returns ran steadily in favour of the Whigs. The narrative of Lord Macaulay breaks off abruptly in the midst of the Gloucestershire Election. It would have given him pleasure to record its close—how "Jack Howe," the personal assailant of King William in the House of Commons, was put to the rout by an obscure antagonist of the Court party, Mr. Maynard Colchester, while his late colleague Sir Richard Cocks as a Whig retained his seat.

It was the same in other places. Wherever the popular voice was freeest the Whig candidates most commonly appeared at the head of the poll. The Tories maintained their ground chiefly in those bodies where family influence and ties of neighbourhood prevailed. Still, though no longer a majority in the House of Commons, they formed a compact and numerous party. They were always strong; they might sometimes be victorious. This was apparent even at their first meeting for the choice of Speaker. There were two gentlemen put forward; Sir Thomas Littleton who was favoured by the Court, and Mr. Harley recommended by his Parliamentary knowledge and recent experience of the Chair. It was felt that party spirit apart Harley was much the fittest of the candidates, and he was elected accordingly by the narrow majority of four—216 against 212.[3]

William was determined that the flame which Louis had kindled should not be allowed to cool. He had

[3] Commons Journals, vol. xiii. p. 645. The "Complete History of England in 1701" (p. 361) had made this majority fourteen instead of four, and has been followed by Tindal in his Continuation of Rapin, Coxe in his Life of Marlborough, and several other compilers.

summoned his new Parliament to meet as early as possible. Even before the New Year—on the 30th of December—he came down to the Houses and delivered his opening Speech. It was wholly free from that cold and conventional tone which the Royal Speeches have displayed more or less through the entire Hanoverian period. This Speech on the contrary, which came from the pen of Lord Somers, bears throughout unrestrained by forms the impress of his clear sense and lofty spirit. "It is fit I should tell you" he said "the eyes of all Europe are upon this Parliament; all matters are at a stand till your resolutions are known; and therefore no time ought to be lost. . . . Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of our enemies by your unanimity. I have shown, and will always show how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people. Do you in like manner lay aside parties and divisions. Let there be no other distinction heard of amongst us for the future but of those who are for the Protestant religion and the present establishment, and of those who mean a Popish prince and a French government." CHAP. I. 1701.

These patriotic sentiments received a prompt reply. Both Houses passed unanimously Addresses expressing the highest indignation at the conduct of the French King "in owning and setting up the pretended Prince of Wales." A sum of 600,000*l.* for the service of the fleet was voted by the Commons; and they further agreed to support the proportion of land-forces, namely 40,000 men, which the King had stipulated to act in conjunction with those of his Allies.

Encouraged by the spirit which the Houses manifested the King proceeded though by cautious steps to make some changes in the Ministry. Already at the close of December he had named the Earl of Carlisle First Commissioner of the Treasury in the room of Lord Godolphin. Now he replaced Sir Charles Hedges as Secretary of State by the Earl of Manchester late 1702.

CHAP. I. 1702.

ambassador at Paris, and he called the Earls of Radnor and of Burlington to the Privy Council. Some other appointments followed all tending to reinstate the Whigs in office. Rochester the great Tory chief strong in his kinsmanship to the late Queen had gone some months before to take possession of his Vice Royalty of Ireland, and there he was left for the present, receiving however an intimation from the King that His Majesty intended to put an end to his commission.

It is worthy of note nevertheless that although this House of Commons had been elected on wholly different principles, which it manifested on national questions, it adhered to the worst precedents of the former wherever its own dignity and grandeur might be thought to be concerned. The case of Thomas Colepepper is a strong example. He had been one of the candidates for Maidstone at the last General Election and was defeated by a majority of only two votes. He now presented a Petition praying for the Seat, in which far from succeeding he was himself judged guilty of corrupt practices. For these he might perhaps be well deserving of censure or punishment. But the members took occasion to revive the proceedings of last Session against the Kentish Petition, which they again voted to be "scandalous, insolent, and seditious," and they ordered that Colepepper as one of its main instruments should be committed to Newgate and be prosecuted by the Attorney General.

The two Houses however passed with great expedition a Bill for attainting the pretended Prince of Wales who had now taken the title of King James the Third. There was even a question of including in the same attainder his mother the Queen Dowager as claiming to be Regent during his minority. Holding any correspondence with him or remitting any money for his use

was in like manner declared High Treason. So far great unanimity appeared.

But this unanimity ceased when there arose the question of another Bill for the purpose of abjuring the young Prince and of taking an oath to William and to each of his successors according to the Act of Settlement as the "rightful and lawful King." This measure was introduced with the specious title of "An Act for the further security of His Majesty's person and the succession of the Crown in the Protestant line." It was begun in the House of Lords; and the first design was that the oath should be only voluntary—to be tendered to all persons, and their subscription or refusal to be put on record without any other penalty. To this the Earl of Nottingham and other Tories took exception and not without good cause. Besides that it would place in a most invidious light all those who for whatever causes—and the causes might be very various—omitted to take the oath, it would raise a new theological difficulty since many persons deemed it unwarrantable to take any oath of free will and without being required and bound to do so by some lawful authority. Nevertheless the Bill passed the Lords with the oath left free; and in the Commons after long debate the question that it should be imposed was carried but by one vote. In this form the oath was made a necessary qualification for every employment either in Church or State.

At that period so far as we are now enabled to judge and for many years afterwards there was a feeling very prevalent in England though scarce ever publicly avowed—a belief that the restoration of the titular Prince of Wales like that of his uncle Charles the Second would probably in the end take place—that it was rather a question of time and of terms. Men who had no sort of concert or engagement with his partisans and who looked forward with complacency to the Princess Anne as next heir were yet unwilling to give

CHAP. I. 1702.

any vote or take any step that should irretrievably dissever them from their eventual Sovereign. Hence the progress of the Bill in both Houses was marked by some strange fluctuations and divers pretexts and devices; and there was at work a latent opposition rather felt perhaps than seen.

Another underhand proceeding of certain politicians at this time was the attempt to sow dissension between the King and the Princess. It was whispered that the secret object of William was to obtain the succession of the House of Hanover, immediately on his own decease. This appears to be an utter calumny, without even a shadow of foundation or excuse; nevertheless it is thought to have produced some effect on the mind of Anne. The opposition affecting great concern for her safety proposed a Clause making it High Treason to compass her death, as in the case of a Prince of Wales, she standing then in the same relation to the Crown; and this Clause being at once conceded by the Government was duly inserted in the Bill.

This Bill which stirred up so much of party passion was still depending when on the 20th of February William fell from his horse and broke his collar-bone. Lord Macaulay with a mournful interest in the close of his hero's career has anticipated the order of time in a separate fragment tracing the accident to its fatal result on the morning of March the 8th. I content myself with only this brief notice, being not able—and were I even able scarcely willing—to add anything to Lord Macaulay's full and excellent narration.

The character of William has been sketched by Lord Macaulay with a friendly, and as some may think a partial, hand. He has done justice to the lofty qualities of that great Prince, but has overlooked or scarcely touched the not inconsiderable drawbacks that must be made. Confining our attention now to these, as seeking in the present instance only to complete the

picture, we may in the first place observe of William how unsympathetic was his nature. There can be no stronger contrast than between the enthusiastic allegiance which Henri Quatre for example knew how to inspire in France and the cold and sullen respect which only—here at least—was shown to William. The longer he was known in this country the less he was beloved. It may be doubted whether at the time of his decease there was a single Englishman who entertained for him a feeling of personal attachment.

The demeanor of William was certainly in no common degree, dry, forbidding, and austere. He spoke little and very seldom in praise. Indeed it has been said of him that he never appeared quite at ease or quite to his advantage except on a day of battle. There and there alone the hero was fully manifested. For this coldness and reserve there might be perhaps in some degree a physical cause assigned. When his body came to be dissected in the presence of ten physicians and four surgeons, the most eminent of their day, we may observe that they state at the conclusion of their joint Report: "It is very rare to find a body with so little blood as was seen in this."[4] Yet on the other hand his general demeanor was, it may be thought, no untrue reflex of his feelings whenever his own countrymen were not concerned. Beyond the sphere of Holland he appears to have viewed mankind too much as mere instruments to carry out his great designs.

In the same spirit it was perhaps that when once satisfied as to the end he did not at all times concern himself enough about the means. Thus he resolved to establish order in the Highlands, and with that view he signed an order to extirpate the Macdonalds of Glencoe. Thus he wished to preserve the peace of the world, and with that view he was willing to let perish the ad-

[4] The Report is given at length in the Complete History of Europe for 1702, p. 76.

CHAP. I. 1702.

venturers of Darien. Thus again in the last few months of his life he was desirous to have a government in England that should cordially cooperate with his foreign policy, and with that view while still retaining and employing his Tory Ministers he consulted with their rivals how and by what means he might most easily supplant them. His secret overtures to Lords Somers and Sunderland, dated in the autumn of 1701 and published by Lord Hardwicke in his State Papers, reveal a course which in the present day would be denounced on all sides as wholly unbecoming the honor and duty of a British Sovereign.

Moreover, in estimating the character of King William, great attention is certainly due to the remark of Bishop Burnet that "he had no vice but of one sort in which he was very cautious and secret."—"If you live to read my History," said the Bishop one day to Lord Dartmouth, "you will be surprised to find I have taken notice of King William's vices; but some things were too notorious for a faithful historian to pass over."[5] Swift on his part in annotating his own copy of Burnet has appended to this sentence a very caustic, not to say a cynical, remark.[6] Without pursuing the subject further it may suffice to say that the words of Bishop Burnet should be carefully weighed. It is no light charge that is here implied. It is no light quarter from which the charge proceeds. It comes from a familiar friend and a constant follower—from one who owed to William not only his return from exile but his Episcopal rank—from one who had no imaginable motive to deceive us, and who was most unlikely to be himself deceived.

[5] Note by Lord Dartmouth to this passage in Burnet's History, p. 690 of the folio or vol. iii. p. 133 of the octavo edition.

[6] See Swift's Works, vol. x. p. 281, ed. 1814.

CHAPTER II.

QUEEN ANNE at her accession was thirty-seven years of age. Her powers of mind were certainly not considerable. She had no wit of her own nor appreciation of wit in others. No one could have less share, or less sympathy, in the great intellectual movement which took place in her reign. But at the same time she had many most estimable qualities. As a wife and mother her conduct was at all times exemplary. Not even the shadow of a shade rests on the perfect purity of her wedded life. As a mother it is touching to trace how losing child after child, and childless at the last, her poignant grief was blended with pious resignation. In her intimacy with others of her sex she was most warmhearted; and wherever such intimacy ceased the fault was not I think upon her side. If we look at the whole course of the transactions between herself and the Duchess of Marlborough in William's reign and in her own it may be said that scarce any person ever endured more for a friend—or from a friend. CHAP. II. 1702.

In her religious tenets Queen Anne was most earnest and sincere. She was warmly attached to the Church of England, receiving the Sacrament once every month, according to its rites; and she had steadily resisted all the attempts at her conversion or perversion that were made in her father's reign. She was liberal sometimes even lavish in her benefactions; kindly and compassionate in all her private feelings. Upon the whole it may be said of her that she fairly merited the popular appellation of "good Queen Anne"—as applied to her not only in her lifetime but down to the present day.

CHAP. II.

1702.

As to the affairs of Government the Queen's principles were sometimes such as might rather deserve the name of prejudices. She was impressed with a strong distaste of the Whigs whom she had been taught to regard as enemies of the Church and Republicans at heart. But on all political questions, the Church Establishment excepted, she distrusted her own judgment too much. Hence she surrendered herself far too implicitly to the counsels of the leading spirit whom for the time she admitted as a guide. And as a Sovereign it was her great infelicity that such a leading spirit could not be supplied from the sphere of her own family. If there were in England any person duller than Her Majesty that person was Her Majesty's consort Prince George of Denmark.

Happily for England the choice of the Queen at this period called to the highest honours of the State a man of transcendent abilities, the Earl of Marlborough. It was only by a fortunate accident, since in the first place the partiality of Anne appears to have been formed in a great degree from personal liking, and secondly since it was not in fact on Marlborough but on his wife that her partiality rested.

On the day of the King's demise—it was Sunday the 8th of March—both Houses promptly met, when loyal Addresses were voted, as also an order for proclaiming Queen Anne that afternoon. This was done accordingly with the usual solemnities and amidst the acclamations of the assembled multitude. In the evening the Privy Council came in a body to pay their respects to their new Sovereign. She answered them in some well-considered sentences which had been prepared for her, expressing her great concern for the religion and laws and liberties of her country, as also for maintaining the Succession in the Protestant line.

Three days later the Queen going down to the House of Peers delivered her first Speech in Parliament. "My

Lords and Gentlemen" she began "I cannot too much lament my own unhappiness in succeeding so immediately after the loss of a King who was the great support not only of these kingdoms but of all Europe."—Her concluding sentence however had this expression "as I know my own heart to be entirely English." Notwithstanding the high compliments at the outset this expression was resented by some persons as conveying a reflection on the memory of William. Yet surely the Queen cannot be blamed for putting forward her own strong claim to popular favor, even although the Sovereign whom she succeeded might lack that claim altogether. CHAP. II. 1702.

The Queen in this Speech urged two points on the attention of her Parliament. The first expressed a sentiment which both Houses in their Addresses had already conveyed to her — "that too much cannot be done for the encouragement of our Allies to reduce the exorbitant power of France." The second was "to consider of proper methods towards obtaining of an Union between England and Scotland which has been so lately recommended to you." It was indeed the parting recommendation of King William delivered in a Message to the Commons only one week before his death.

The Parliaments of England before the Revolution were held to expire immediately upon the demise of the Crown. In this instance our ancient law-givers appear to have proceeded on a very fanciful and surely a very foolish analogy. The King they said is the head of the Parliament, and as the human frame cannot continue to exist when the head is cut off so no more can the body politic.[1] But as the powers of Parliament gradually increased it was felt more and more inconvenient that

[1] Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 177, ed. Kerr, 1857. The relation of the Sovereign to the Parliament was described as *caput, principium et finis.*

CHAP. II. 1702.

these powers should be suspended or annulled at so critical a period as the commencement of a reign. This was foreseen especially after the events of 1688 when the evils of a disputed Succession rose in view. In the reign of William accordingly there was passed an Act, enabling the Parliament which existed at a demise of the Crown to continue during a period of six months and no longer.[2] Even with this latitude the rule has been several times the cause of most needless expenditure and serious interruption to the public business without even the shadow of an advantage alleged on the other side; and it seems strange that the clear and simple change in the law, of rendering a Dissolution at the death of the Sovereign permissive instead of compulsory, should have been deferred until the year 1867 on the motion of the present writer.

This Parliament of Anne was therefore the first in our Annals that was entitled to sit and vote after the demise of the Crown. It showed itself worthy of the privilege by its prudence. There was no peevish attempt to embarrass the government or to withhold the supplies. There was on the contrary a cheerful readiness to clear the path of the new Queen. Undoubtedly the framers of her first Speech had touched precisely the right chord of popular feeling. As many persons thought, the late King had been "entirely Dutch;" the Pretender if restored must be "entirely French;" the Electress of Hanover if she succeeded might be "entirely German;" delightful then to bask in the sunshine of an "entirely English" Queen!

Some such sentiment indeed was much required to soothe the Whig majority of the Commons—that Whig majority so recent and so hardly won—as they saw the current of promotions just now flowing in their favor all at once turned aside. There was no sudden or

[2] Act 7 & 8 Will. III. c. 15.

abrupt change of Ministry; that was left to be accomplished by degrees; but it was plain from the first that the Queen's entire favor would rest on the Earl of Marlborough; and through Marlborough on his Tory friends. Only three days from her coming to the Crown she named him a Knight of the Garter; then Captain General of her land-forces both at home and abroad; then Master General of the Ordnance; and earlier still ambassador to Holland for a special object. That object was to give fresh spirits to the leading statesmen of the Hague and assure them of the Queen's continued support, disheartened as they were and almost bewildered by the loss of their great Stadtholder.

Lady Marlborough had even a larger share—if that be possible—of honors and rewards. She was named Groom of the Stole—strange as seems that title for a lady to bear. She was named also more appropriately Mistress of the Robes. She was named Keeper of the Privy Purse. The Rangership of Windsor Park for life was affectionately pressed upon her by the Queen. Both her married daughters, Lady Henrietta Godolphin and Lady Spencer, were appointed Ladies of the Bedchamber.

It appears from the papers which are now preserved at Blenheim, and which were consulted by Archdeacon Coxe, that the intimate correspondence which had been carried on for many years past between Lady Marlborough and the Princess Anne under cant names—Lady Marlborough as Mrs. Freeman and the Princess as Mrs. Morley—was still continued with wholly unabated ardour on the Royal side. We find however that ever since the decease of her last surviving child the Duke of Gloucester, Anne invariably added to her name a new epithet referring to her loss. Instead of "your faithful Morley" it was now "your poor unfortunate faithful Morley." [3]

[3] See Coxe's Marlborough, vol. i. p. 218.

CHAP. II. 1702.

Mr. Freeman—as in these letters Marlborough is commonly termed—set out on his Dutch embassy without delay and reached the Hague on the 17th of March Old Style. Thus writes Mr. Alexander Stanhope the English Minister to the Dutch States: "The Queen's letter was the greatest comfort and cordial they could receive." . . . "My Lord Marlborough is continually busy with the Pensionary, and several of our foreign Ministers, by which indefatigable diligence he hopes to have despatched all his affairs so as to return in three or four days. . . . He has done a great deal of business in a short time here, and now his presence will be as necessary with you."[4] Thus did Marlborough by his timely visit and his great diplomatic skill succeed in once more thoroughly combining the scattered threads of the confederacy against France—the "Grand Alliance" as it was now commonly termed. It was agreed that a Declaration of War against France and Spain should be issued simultaneously by each of the three Powers —on the 4th of May Old Style in London, and on the same day, that is the 15th New Style, at Vienna and the Hague.

On one point nevertheless Marlborough did not prevail. Prince George of Denmark notwithstanding his entire want of military experience had conceived the silly ambition to lead the Allied army. With this view Marlborough was instructed to press for his appointment as commander of the Dutch forces. The States however steadily refused; partly as distrusting the Prince's capacity; and partly because they feared that with his exalted rank he would resist the control of their own field-deputies. There were several other princes competitors for this high post and Marlborough at his departure from the Hague left the question still depending.

Marlborough returned to England in sufficient time

[4] To Secretary Vernon, March 28 and 31, April 14, 1702 (MS.).

to take part in the solemnities that attend a change of reign. On the 12th of April the late King was interred in Westminster Abbey; and there on the 23rd, St. George's Day, the Queen was crowned. Dr. Sharp Archbishop of York preached on this occasion. He was a Prelate believed to stand high in the Queen's confidence; and he preached "a good and wise sermon" says Bishop Burnet. Immediately afterwards Her Majesty gave orders for naming the Princess Sophia in the Prayer for the Royal Family as next in succession to the throne.

Meanwhile the Parliament had not been inactive. The Abjuration Bill having become law the members of both Houses were sworn as was required in due form. There was nothing of that schism or party division which had been apprehended. It was found that the same persons who had sturdily resisted the imposition of the oath took it with no apparent reluctance when it was imposed.—The two Houses passed a Bill for taking and examining the public accounts by means of certain Commissioners. There had been for many years a most defective system of audit, and large fortunes it was said were made from the Treasury charges.—Another Bill which passed through the Houses with great unanimity was to grant to Anne for life the same revenue that William had enjoyed. When the Queen came down to the House of Peers to pass this Act and to thank her Parliament for it she declared that while her subjects remained under the burden of such great taxes she would straiten herself in her own expenses, and would give directions that 100,000*l.* from her Civil List should be applied to the public service in the current year. This well-timed generosity added not a little to the popular favor which greeted the new reign.

Another Bill which passed without difficulty was designed to carry out the recommendation of the Queen in her opening Speech. It empowered Her Majesty to

CHAP. II. name commissioners for treating of an Union with Scotland.

1702. Since the return of Marlborough and through the influence of "Mrs. Freeman" a change of Ministry was now in progress entirely transferring the reins of government from the Whig party to the Tory. Marlborough's chief reliance at this time was on Lord Godolphin. For many years there had been a political alliance between them, since cemented by a near family connection, Marlborough's eldest daughter having married Godolphin's eldest son. By Marlborough's advice Godolphin was named Lord Treasurer. Thus he would have the supreme control of the finances, while the main direction of the war and of the foreign alliances would remain in Marlborough's hands. There were two new Secretaries of State, the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges, in the room of the Duke of Manchester and Mr. Vernon. The Marquess of Normanby was appointed Lord Privy Seal and soon after created Duke of Buckingham. The Earl of Pembroke became Lord President; the Earl of Jersey had a place at Court. Mr. Harcourt, henceforth Sir Simon, was Solicitor General. Two Tories of great weight in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Seymour and Sir John Levison Gower, were named respectively Comptroller of the Household and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Nay more—such are the necessities of party — there was one among the subordinate posts, a Joint Paymastership, which was bestowed on Mr. Howe, the insolent and unscrupulous defamer of King William.

Not less significant of the prevailing temper in high places were the nominations to the Privy Council. That body as in former times the Parliament itself was held to expire at the demise of the Crown. It became necessary for the new Sovereign to reappoint such members as were sought to be retained. Now in the

Privy Council which Anne was advised to name there were omitted the most eminent Whig-chiefs—Somers above all and Halifax and Orford.

One leading Tory continued much dissatisfied. This was Rochester, who had expected to be himself Lord Treasurer and had no wish to live at Dublin as Lord Lieutenant. Flinging the government of Ireland into the hands of Lords Justices he hastened up to London full of ire. This he had an opportunity of venting at a Council held on the 2nd of May to issue the Declaration of War against France and Spain. Then Rochester stood up supported by some of his colleagues and spoke against the Declaration; urging that it was safer for the English to act only as auxiliaries. Marlborough took the lead on the other side and maintained that France could never be reduced within due bounds unless the English entered as principals into the quarrel. In this view the majority of the Council concurred; and the Declaration of War specifying reasons was framed accordingly. On the 4th of May, in pursuance of the agreement made at the Hague, it was solemnly proclaimed before the gate of St. James's Palace and other usual places; like Declarations being issued on the same day both by the Emperor and by the States of Holland. Loyal and approving Addresses were presented to the Queen from both the Houses.

It was not merely on questions of foreign policy that Rochester and his followers differed from their other colleagues in the Council. He wished for a more entire change of men down to all subaltern employments—to extend perhaps even to the Judges and Lords Lieutenant of Counties, since all those Commissions were then terminable at the Royal decease. But the prudence of Marlborough and Godolphin forbade any course so extreme. No new Whigs were appointed, but many were continued at the posts which they held in the preceding reign. This was especially the case

CHAP. II. 1702.

when they were of rank and character and at the same time of no abilities which could cause alarm. The Duke of Devonshire for example was reappointed Lord Steward.

One main anxiety of Anne at this juncture was to satisfy her consort. She could not obtain for him as he wished the command of the army in the Netherlands, but she named him Generalissimo of all her forces and also Lord High Admiral. In this latter capacity the Ministers took care to provide him with an efficient Council, which comprised Sir George Rooke and other seamen of mark, and which might if necessary administer the navy in his name. Prince George had moreover a seat in the House of Lords having been created Duke of Cumberland in 1689. He was therefore in a position to acquire an honourable fame in the public service had either activity or ability fallen to his share. But without these the highest employments serve only to render the want of them more clear. Little was expected of Prince George by any portion of the public, but even that little was more than he performed.

The Parliament having now despatched the necessary business was prorogued on the 25th of May. By that time Marlborough was already at the Hague, where he remained through the month of June, intent alike on diplomacy and on the preparations for war and fully equal to the calls of both.—Several accessions had been recently obtained to the Grand Alliance. The Elector of Brandenburg was induced to join it on his title as King of Prussia being conferred or acknowledged by the Emperor; and this was the origin of that powerful monarchy now become predominant over all the German States. "King Frederick the First" was the title which the Elector now assumed. Vanity was a leading principle in his mind, and it was skilfully wrought upon by Marlborough who clenched his reso-

lution by the promise that the Queen would grant to his Ministers the same ceremonial as to those of other Crowned Heads.

The Elector Palatine also joined the Grand Alliance inflamed by the recollection of the wrongs which his country had suffered when laid waste by order of Louis the Fourteenth. A desire to secure the favor of the English people and the succession to his family influenced in the same direction the Elector of Hanover. Many smaller princes were borne along by the example of the greater. Two brothers indeed who held high rank in the Empire, the Electors of Bavaria and of Cologne, were well known as devoted friends of France, but they professed at this period their intention to remain neutral in the contest. On the whole then the German Diet was induced to take the same course which its chief had already taken as sovereign of the Austrian states. It issued a Declaration of War against France and Spain and engaged to supply the usual contingents of troops.

The command of the Dutch troops was also at this time decided. Among a host of candidates for it there were two especially in view; first the Prince of Nassau Saarbrück who might point to his dignity as a Prince of the Empire and to the great name of Nassau; secondly Van Ginkell, Earl of Athlone, recommended to the States by his Dutch birth and by his military services. Each of these chiefs had already taken the field at the head of a separate corps. On the other hand Pensionary Heinsius and other statesmen forming what was termed the party of England warmly pressed the superior claims of Marlborough. Not only were they convinced of his genius for war but they felt the importance of ensuring, as his nomination would ensure, the union of the British and Dutch forces under one command. Finally, the Prince and Athlone seeing that they could not prevail took to themselves the merit of withdrawing

CHAP. II. their pretensions and allowing Marlborough to be named General in chief.

1702. On the 2nd of July Marlborough set out to take the field. Most truly arduous was the part which he had to fill. For nearly two centuries the rivalry had been between the monarchies of France and Spain. Other European States had by turns allied themselves with either side; and it was this that made the balance of power. But for many years past the effort had been to sustain the power of Spain which constantly dwindled against the power of France which constantly increased. Now on the other hand by the succession of the Duke of Anjou and his dependence on his grandfather, the whole monarchy of Spain and the Indies with its vast appendages of Sicily, Naples, Milan, Flanders, was suddenly thrown into the scale of France. It was only the extreme decrepitude into which Spain had fallen, and the almost entire annihilation of its fleets and armies, that enabled other Powers to band themselves against this portentous junction with any prospect of success. The change was a great one, and to the Dutch most of all. The Low Countries once their barrier and bulwark against France had become wellnigh one of its provinces. They would have to conquer the territory which had hitherto shielded them, to besiege the very towns in which till lately they had held their garrisons.

The Dutch armies at this period were moreover weakened by their divided counsels and dilatory forms. These had been overruled by the ascendant of their Nassau princes but appeared in full force under the command of a foreign chief. The States were wont to send out field-deputies, men who had no experience of war but who loved to prate of it. Whenever any new operation against the enemy was proposed they claimed to sit in council upon it; and they were found to bring forward so many criticisms and objections, doubts and

scruples, misgivings and anxieties, that most commonly they defeated the object in view or at least delayed it until the favourable opportunity for it had wholly passed away. It will be seen in the sequel how constantly these troublesome meddlers baffled the skilful designs of Marlborough and tried his admirable temper. They may well recall the exclamation which it is recorded that Hannibal made in his later years when the sophist Phormio had favoured him with a lecture on the Art of War, "Many an old fool have I known, but such an old fool never!"

The Governor of the Low Countries for the King of Spain was at this time the Marquis de Bedmar; a man wholly devoted to the French. He commanded for them a corps near the mouth of the Scheldt. But their principal force was upon the Meuse, holding the fortresses in the bishoprick of Liege. It was headed by an experienced officer Marshal Boufflers, and had been joined by the young Duke of Burgundy, eldest son of the Dauphin and heir apparent of the Crown.

The Allies had in the first place a small force to protect the mouth of the Scheldt and to threaten the district of Bruges; this was commanded by Cohorn the celebrated engineer. Their main army consisted of the two divisions of Athlone and Nassau Saarbrück which have been already mentioned. They began the campaign at the end of April by investing Kaiserswerth, a small town upon the Rhine below Düsseldorf, which had been placed in the enemy's hands by the Elector of Cologne. Kaiserswerth made a long and resolute resistance but was compelled to capitulate on the 15th of June; nor could Marshal Boufflers prevail in effecting a diversion by an attempted COUP DE MAIN though very near success upon Nimeguen.

At this period also of mid-June a German army commanded by the Margrave Louis of Baden, and 40,000 strong, came over the Rhine and laid siege to

CHAP. II

1702.

the important fortress of Landau—the bulwark of Alsace as it was then regarded. The Margrave was subsequently joined by the Emperor's eldest son the young King of the Romans, who desired to share in the glory, though not in the toils, of the expected conquest.

Early in July the Earl of Marlborough reached the head-quarters at Nimeguen, taking the supreme direction not only of the English and Dutch but of the Prussian and Hanoverian contingents. Of these last however the obedience was by no means prompt or ready. The Prussians made difficulties before they would consent to join, and Marlborough could only satisfy the King by writing to him a renewed assurance that the Queen would grant him in the fullest manner the Crowned Heads ceremonial. Thus also the Hanoverian General before he would bring his troops put forward three demands; first that they should not be required to take an oath to the Queen; secondly that they should not be kept beyond the 5th of November; and thirdly that they should not be led across the Meuse. "The two first" writes Marlborough to Godolphin "are not worth disputing; for they assure me it shall be in my power to keep them [through November]; but I think we were almost as good to be without them as agree to the last. Our misfortune is that if we have not these troops we shall not have strength to act. By these difficulties you may see the great disadvantage a confederate army has."

How like to this and beyond all doubt how true the observation of Prince Metternich in a letter during the Congress of Chatillon addressed to Caulaincourt: "I answer to your Excellency that it is no easy matter to be the Minister of an alliance."[5]

Having by patience and skill overcome these obstacles,

[5] "Ce n'est pas chose facile que d'être le Ministre de la Coalition." Troyes, le 15 Février 1814. Fain, 'Manuscrit de 1814.'

and obtained the desired junction without the onerous terms, Marlborough called in the troops lately engaged in the siege of Kaiserswerth, drew the English from Breda, and in a few days was at the head of almost 60,000 men. With these he was eager to cross the Meuse and advance into Brabant, giving battle to the French if they would accept it. Here however the Dutch formalities were very quickly—if at that period any thing with them could be quickly—interposed. Lord Athlone and the other Generals in the service of Holland did not agree among themselves and appealed to their government for instructions. But when the Generals had thus referred the project to the States the States referred it back to the Generals. They left it to their own decision adding only as an additional perplexity a vague recommendation for "the safety of the Rhine and of Nimeguen."—"However" says Marlborough "we came last night to a resolution of marching to-morrow and passing the Meuse a little below Grave. Accordingly we have this day made three bridges over that river."[6]

At the news of Marlborough's advance Marshal Boufflers quitted his strong position at Gennep, and also crossed the Meuse. Just at this period he had been compelled by orders from the King to send a large detachment of his army towards Alsace for the relief as was hoped of Landau. His force was so much reduced that he would by no means risk a battle, as Marlborough even before that detachment had desired. Relinquishing the line of the Meuse, Boufflers proceeded by rapid marches to the defence of Brabant, and the Duke of Burgundy seeing that there were no laurels to be gathered set out ere long on his return to Versailles.

But though Boufflers avoided a battle it might be forced upon him, and for this two good opportunities occurred, first in the defile of Peer, and secondly in his camp at Zonhoven. Marlborough pressed warmly for an

[6] To Lord Godolphin, July 13, 1702.

CHAP. II. 1702.

attack; and it was the opinion of the Duke of Berwick that had this attack been made upon the camp at Zonhoven where the French were very ill posted, it would certainly have succeeded.[7] Here again the irresolution of the Dutch field-deputies proved of signal service to their enemies. They doubted and wavered until the promising occasion slipped away. "I have but too much reason to complain;" wrote Marlborough on a similar incident a few days afterwards. "However I have thought it for Her Majesty's service to take no notice as you will see by my letter to the States."[8]

Still however the retreat of the French was of great importance as leaving open to attack the line of fortresses along the Meuse. Marlborough at once applied himself to their reduction. First he invested Venlo. After some days of open trenches he resolved to direct an assault against Fort St. Michael which was on the other side of the Meuse and connected with the town by a bridge of boats. The storming party on this occasion consisted almost wholly of English troops: it was headed by a very brave officer Lord Cutts, who had under him also Lord Huntingdon, Lord Lorne, Sir Richard Temple and other distinguished volunteers. They carried the fort with irresistible gallantry, taking prisoners or putting to the sword 700 men who formed the garrison. Batteries were then raised in the captured fort against the town, and within a few hours a practicable breach had been effected.

Just at this juncture the besiegers were greatly cheered by the tidings which came to them of the reduction of Landau. The FEUX DE JOIE which they forthwith fired in honor of this auspicious event were mistaken by the besieged for the commencement of the expected assault; and they immediately hung out a flag of truce as preliminary to their own surrender. Thus

[7] Mémoires de Berwick, vol. i. p. 121, ed. 1778.
[8] To Lord Godolphin, August 27, 1702.

as it chanced it was the capitulation of one town which obtained or at least which hastened the capitulation of another.

Marlborough in the next place turned his arms against Ruremond. In this siege as in the preceding he was assisted by Cohorn who had hastened from the Scheldt; a most skilful engineer but so cautious and captious that he came to be surnamed by one of his countrymen "the General of difficulties." Ruremond made but a faint resistance and Marlborough then proceeded to invest the important city of Liege. Boufflers had returned from Brabant in hopes of effecting a diversion; but he was overmatched by Marlborough, and Liege surrendered, October 29, on the first fire from the batteries. The season was then so far advanced that the Allied army was withdrawn into winter quarters. Marlborough had closed the campaign very much to his own honor and to the good of the common cause, reducing Guelders, Limburg, and the entire bishoprick of Liege, and cutting off the communication of the French with the Lower Rhine.

The esteem and value which were in consequence felt for Marlborough through the provinces of Holland were signally shown in consequence of an adventure which befell him on his return. He had embarked on the Meuse with the Dutch deputies, and a guard of twenty-five men. A larger boat conveyed Cohorn with a guard of sixty, while a body of horse acting as a further escort rode along the bank. In the night however after leaving Venlo the two boats parted company, and the escort of cavalry missed its way. Thus amidst the darkness Marlborough's boat was surprised and his guard overpowered by a band of French partisans, thirty-five in number, who in quest of booty were lurking among the reeds and sedges. Happily they had no suspicion of the rank and importance of their captives, and there were shown to them some French

CHAP. II. 1702.

passes with which the Dutch deputies had prudently provided themselves. Marlborough had disdained to solicit such a safeguard; but one of his servants, Gell by name, saved him at this critical moment by his promptitude. Gliding up close to him, he slipped into his hand an old pass preserved by accident, which had been granted to his brother General Churchill when obliged by ill health to quit the army. Marlborough though aware that the date had expired presented this pass with the calmness that never forsook him. The freebooters were completely deceived. After plundering the boat and extorting some money as presents from those whom they believed to be protected by their passes, they retained the guard as prisoners but they allowed the travellers to proceed. The news flew apace into Holland and was magnified into a rumour that the General had been recognised and retained. Two days later we find Marlborough writes as follows from the Hague: "Till they saw me here they thought me a prisoner in France so that I was not ashore one minute before I had great crowds of the common people; some endeavouring to take me by the hands, and all crying out, Welcome! But that which moved me most was to see a great many of both sexes cry for joy." [9]

Many other were the testimonies to Marlborough's great merits at this period. None could be stronger than that which was nobly, nay magnanimously, given by his rival Lord Athlone. "The success of this campaign" he said "is solely due to this incomparable chief, since I confess that I, serving as second in command, opposed in all circumstances his opinion and proposals." [1]

In relating the war which at this time was waged in

[9] To Lord Godolphin, Oct. 28, 1702. This account is fully borne out by the other letters from Holland.

[1] See Coxe's Marlborough, vol. i. p. 196.

the Low Countries we may observe that it was not always concluded with due regard to the feelings of humanity or to the rules of international law. Of this a strong instance may be adduced from the despatches (not hitherto published) of Alexander Stanhope our Envoy at the Hague: "Here is discovered a most villanous design to pierce a DIGUE in North Holland to drown the whole country. It was first proposed by a Papist gentleman of this country of a good estate, bred by the Jesuits at Emmerick; his name Van Eysel. He proposed it to Monsieur d'Avaux when last here, who recommended him to Boufflers then in Flanders, who relished it so well as to send him with it to Monsieur Torcy at Paris, and after it had all their approbations, and the man came back hither to execute it, he and two of his accomplices were seized, and finding their own letters produced against them besides two witnesses VIVÂ VOCE they have confessed the fact."[2]

The wrongs however were by no means all on one side as the following extract from the next year's despatches will show. It was when Baron Spaar—or Sparre as the French have spelled it—with some Dutch troops forced the lines into Flanders by the Pays de Waes: "The Baron found great opposition from five French regiments and a much greater number of the Boors of the country who fought like devils and maintained their posts after the regular troops had given way, which cost them dear, for Spaar ordered no quarter to be given them and their houses to be burnt."[3]

The Maréchal de Catinat, one of the soldiers of whom France has most reason to be proud—the virtuous Catinat as Rousseau terms him[4]—held command at

[2] To Mr. Yard, Under-Secretary of State, May 23, 1702 (MS.). In the December following the two villains were publicly beheaded.

[3] Hon. A. Stanhope to Secretary Hedges, June 29, 1703 (MS.).

[4] Confessions, livre x. He is describing "le simple mais respectable château de St. Gratien," to which Catinat retired after this campaign of 1702.

CHAP. II. 1702.

this period in Alsace. So inferior were his numbers that he could make no attempt to relieve Landau. But after its reduction an opportunity appeared in which by detaching a portion of his army he might retrieve the fortunes of France in another quarter. The Elector of Bavaria after much irresolution had openly espoused the cause of Louis. He seized upon the city of Ulm and issued a proclamation in favor of his new ally. To support his movements an enterprising and ambitious officer, the Marquis de Villars, was sent across the Rhine with part of the army of Alsace.

The declaration of the Elector of Bavaria and the advance of Villars into Germany disquieted in no slight degree the Prince Louis of Baden. Leaving a sufficient garrison in Landau he also passed the Rhine. The two armies met at Friedlingen on the 14th of October. Louis of Baden, a ponderous tactician bred in the wars against the Turks, might out-manœuvre some Grand Vizier but was no match for the quick-witted Frenchman. He was signally defeated with the loss of 3000 men; soon after which the season being now far advanced, Villars led back his army to winter quarters in France. His victory of Friedlingen gained for him at Versailles the rank of Maréchal de France; and, as combined with the Bavarian alliance, seemed to offer an auspicious prospect to his countrymen in the next campaigns.

Beyond the Alps there had been some warfare even in mid winter. Marshal Villeroy who commanded for the French had his head-quarters in Cremona; while beyond the Oglio lay his far superior adversary the Imperial chief, Prince Eugene of Savoy. One dark morning in February Villeroy was suddenly roused by the sound of firing in the streets. This came from Eugene who with singular boldness and skill had brought a body of six thousand men unperceived beneath the walls of Cremona and entered the city through the channel of

CHAP. II.

1702.

an aqueduct. The French though surprised made as usual a most gallant resistance. There was sharp fighting continued for ten hours. Finally Prince Eugene was compelled to relinquish his prey and to leave the half-won city as he had found it, bearing with him however Marshal Villeroy and some other prisoners. Villeroy remained in captivity for nine months, when he was exchanged, and to the misfortune of France sent back to her service. Meanwhile the Duke de Vendome had been appointed to his place in Italy.

As the spring advanced Philip of Spain determined to head his own troops in this campaign. On Easter Day he landed at Naples amidst the loudest acclamations. Naples had never seen its Sovereigns for a period of two centuries; and had been grievously misgoverned in their absence. Nevertheless, and in spite of the first Lazzaroni cheers, it was found that the Neapolitans in general were ill affected to the House of Bourbon and inclined to the Austrian cause. Philip reembarked in June and pursued his voyage along the Italian coast to his own port of Finale. It had been designed that he should touch at Leghorn and have an interview with the Grand Duke of Tuscany. But the training of Philip at the Court of Versailles had imbued him with the deepest veneration for all points of ceremonial; and he thought that as King of Spain it was his duty to maintain that ceremonial in its utmost rigour. He declared that he could not allow to the Grand Duke the honor of taking place at his right hand; that the Grand Duke must be at his left; and the Grand Duke upon this declined to meet him. Some similar, and as silly, punctilio prevented him from seeing the Doge of Genoa.

Still worse was the effect of the interview which did take place at Acqui between the young King and the Duke of Savoy. Not only did Philip refuse the right hand to the Duke his own father-in-law, but he would

CHAP. II. 1702.

not allow him even the use of an arm-chair. Yet these questions of right and left, of arm-chairs and single chairs were at this period held as all important by the German and Italian Princes. To deprive them of any such privilege seemed to be like tearing the very vitals from their bosom. How very far wiser was Marlborough! It is observed by Voltaire that the English General having once agreed at some state-banquet to hand a napkin to the new-made King of Prussia never afterwards experienced any difficulties with regard to the seven or eight thousand men of the Prussian contingent.[5]

Victor Amadeus of Savoy did not on these points rise above the level of the Princes of his age. He was most deeply irritated by the pride of Spain. There were some considerations of policy and personal advantage at this period which might and no doubt did incline him to the Imperial party rather than the French, but it is thought that his change of sides which shortly afterwards ensued had its first origin in the disgust which he conceived from this interview at Acqui.[6]

Proceeding to Milan and from thence towards Mantua King Philip took the nominal command of his forces which in fact were directed by the Duke de Vendome, and which were now confronted by those of Prince Eugene. There was in both camps a readiness to give battle, and the two armies met at Luzzara on August the 15th. The action was warmly contested but remained indecisive. Both sides claimed the victory, and a Te Deum of thanksgiving was chaunted with equal fervor in the cathedrals of Paris and Vienna. Certain it is that each army had sustained a heavy loss of men and that only slight skirmishes ensued between them during the rest of the campaign. Early in the

[5] Siècle de Louis XIV., vol. i. p. 300, ed. 1752.
[6] Sismondi, Histoire des Français, vol. xxvi. p. 338, ed. 1841.

autumn the news of an English expedition against Cadiz induced Philip to set out from the army with a view to repel this new attack; but the further tidings which he received at Milan enabled him to prolong his stay in that city for some weeks; and he then returned to Spain which he never left again.

King William was the first to plan this expedition against Cadiz and after his decease the project was resumed. But had King William lived he would certainly not have selected as chief the Duke of Ormond, a princely nobleman, endowed with many amiable qualities, but destitute of the skill and the energy which a great enterprise requires. Under him Sir Henry Bellasys commanded the English and General Spaar a contingent of Dutch troops, amounting together to fourteen thousand men. Admiral Sir George Rooke had the direction of the fleet. Their proceedings have been related at full length in another history[7]—how the troops were set on shore near Cadiz in the first days of September—how even before they landed angry dissensions had sprung up between the Dutch and the English, the landsmen and the seamen—and how these dissensions which Ormond wanted the energy to control proved fatal to the enterprise. No discipline was kept, no spirit was displayed. Week after week was lost while the small towns of Rota and St. Mary's were shamefully plundered, while the small fort of Matagorda was feebly bombarded, and while the Spaniards were completing their measures of defence. Finally at the close of the month it was discovered that nothing could be done, and a Council of War decided that the troops should reembark.

The only comfort of the chiefs, as usual in such cases, was to cast on each other the blame of their ill success. The Duke of Ormond inveighed against Sir George Rooke; and Sir George Rooke inveighed against the

[7] War of the Succession in Spain, p. 45–64.

CHAP. II. 1702.

Duke of Ormond. But on their return and off the coast of Portugal an opportunity arose to recover in some part their lost fame. The Spanish galleons from America laden with treasure and making their yearly voyage at this time were bound by their laws of trade to unload at Cadiz but in apprehension of the English fleet they had put into Vigo bay. There Ormond determined to pursue them. On the 22nd of October he neared that narrow inlet which winds amidst the high Gallician mountains. The Spaniards, assisted by some French frigates which were the escort of the galleons, had expected an attack and made the best preparations in their power. They durst not disembark the treasure without an express order from Madrid—and what order from Madrid ever yet came in due time?—but they had called the neighbouring peasantry to arms; they had manned their forts; they had anchored their ships in line within the harbour; and they had drawn a heavy boom across its mouth. None of these means availed them. The English seamen broke through the boom; Ormond at the head of two thousand soldiers scaled the forts; and the ships were all either taken or destroyed. The greater part of the treasure was thrown overboard by direction of the French and Spanish chiefs; but there remained enough to yield a large amount of booty to the victors; and on the whole the undoubted bravery of Ormond at Vigo might well in the judgment of his numerous friends in England atone for his no less undoubted slackness at St. Mary's.

From the West Indies there came some painful tidings. A squadron of seven ships was there commanded by a brave rough veteran Admiral Benbow. In the month of August he engaged a French fleet of superior force and gallantly sustained the fight for five days until deserted by several of his captains. He had received wounds in the arm and face, and his right leg was shattered to pieces by a chain-shot. Even then

he bade himself to be carried back in his cradle to the main deck that he might continue to give his orders. One of his lieutenants near him expressed sorrow for the loss of his leg. "I am sorry for it too" said Benbow "but I had rather have lost them both than have seen this dishonor brought upon the English nation."[8] He put back into Kingston of Jamaica where soon afterwards he died of his wounds. He did not die however until after he had caused three of his captains to be tried by Court Martial for their shameful conduct. Two were condemned to death, and after the orders from the Admiralty had been taken, were shot accordingly; the third was cashiered; and another died a few days before his trial could come on.

The Parliament of England had been dissolved by Proclamation on the 2nd of July. In the elections which ensued the influence of the new reign and of the change of Ministers was strongly felt. The decision of the preceding winter was entirely reversed. As the Tory candidates were then in most contests defeated, so now they were commonly victorious. It was found that they would have a vast numerical preponderance in the new House. As on the last occasion great interest was centered in the Gloucestershire election. Mr. Howe strove gallantly to regain his seat; he was nevertheless at the bottom of the poll. But a scrutiny being called for the High Sheriff declared him duly elected, not without some strong remonstrances and subsequently an election petition from Sir John Guise his baffled competitor.

During this summer the Queen accompanied by Prince George made a Royal Progress. They went first to Oxford, Her Majesty being met on the borders of the county by the Earl of Abingdon as Lord Lieutenant with the High Sheriff and principal gentlemen; and at some distance from the town by the Vice-Chan-

[8] Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. iii. p. 345, ed. 1744.

CHAP. II. 1702.

cellor, Doctors and Masters who wore their robes on horseback. She was conducted in due state to the lodgings prepared for her in Christ Church, where the Dean and Canons expressed their compliments to Her Majesty in English, and to Prince George in Latin; a language which considering his scanty erudition was probably quite as unintelligible to him as it could be to the Queen. Next day Her Majesty repaired to the Convocation House where she saw some Degrees conferred, as also to a concert (then called "consort") at the Theatre, and accepted an entertainment to dinner from the University. Lastly she received what in the official accounts are termed "the usual presents" to a Sovereign at Oxford namely, "a Bible, a Common Prayer-book, and a pair of gloves."[9]

From Oxford the Royal Pair travelled to Cirencester and thence to Badminton, where they were entertained with great magnificence by the Duke of Beaufort. On the borders of Gloucestershire Her Majesty was met and addressed by the High Sheriff with a great number of gentlemen, clergy, and free-holders, the Sheriff being introduced to her by the person who since his accession to office was described as "the Right Honourable John Howe, Esq." This complex title, wholly unusual at the present time, may require some elucidation. In the reign of Anne and for some time subsequently the designation of Esquire was taken to imply for the most part either gentle birth or territorial possession, and was not therefore held to be superseded by the honor of admission to the Privy Council.

The Queen did not stay the night at Badminton but proceeded the same evening to Bath. The reception is described as follows: "Her Majesty was met at Hyde Park within half a mile of the city by a handsome company of the citizens all clad like grenadiers, and about two hundred virgins, richly attired; many of them like

[9] Complete History of Europe for 1702, p. 309.

Amazons with bows and arrows, and others with gilt sceptres and other ensigns of the Regalia in their hands; all of them with a set of dancers who danced by the sides of Her Majesty's coach. . . . All the streets were illuminated and a great number of flambeaux were carried."—The furthest point of this Royal progress was Bristol, where we read of as great though different rejoicings; the houses decked with carpets and tapestry, while flags and pendants were waving from the ships in the river.

On the 20th of October the two Houses met; and Mr. Harley was for the third time—this time without opposition—elected Speaker. The Queen in her opening Speech mentioned with due regard the many expressions of joy and satisfaction which she had met with in all the counties through which she had lately passed. She said nothing of the success in the Low Countries but referred in pointed terms to the "disappointment" at Cadiz, as also to the "abuses and disorders" at St. Mary's. But the Commons in their answer put forward the prosperous scene in such a manner as to provoke a hot debate. It was said in the proposed Address that "the vigorous support of your Majesty's allies and the wonderful progress of your Majesty's arms under the conduct of the Earl of Marlborough, have signally retrieved the ancient honour and glory of the English nation." Here then was a direct and cruel stab at the memory of King William. Here then it behoved the Whigs to make their stand. They moved an Amendment not at all disparaging the recent services of Marlborough but only that instead of "retrieved" the word should be "maintained." On this occasion as on most others at this period we may regret that there is not preserved to us a report of the speeches, nor even a list of the speakers. Finally a division being taken the word "retrieved" was affirmed by 180 against 80 votes.

CHAP. II. 1702.

This division gave it may be said a tone to the entire Session. Every thing continued to flow in the Tory current. First as to Gloucestershire the Commons notwithstanding some very doubtful circumstances rejected by a large majority Sir John Guise's prayer and declared Mr. Howe duly elected.[1] Worcestershire came next. The Commons eagerly welcomed a petition from Sir John Packington, a high Tory and member for that county. He complained that Dr. Lloyd Bishop of Worcester had unduly interfered in the election and endeavoured through his influence with his clergy to prevent Sir John's return. The charge was fully proved by the Bishop's own very silly letters, but the Commons need not have gone so far as to vote that his conduct was "unchristian." They further addressed the Queen to dismiss him from his post as Lord Almoner, and the Queen complied in spite of some murmurs from the House of Lords which resented this step as an infringement of its privileges.

Meanwhile there had come to London the tidings of the affair at Vigo, which were received with a transport of joy far greater than the occasion warranted. The Queen issued a Proclamation appointing the 12th of November as a day of Thanksgiving and naming as the three commanders for whose successes thanks to God should be returned, Marlborough, Ormond, and Rooke. On the 12th accordingly the Queen proceeded in state to St. Paul's, attended by her officers of State and by both Houses of Parliament. Her Majesty, attired in purple, and wearing her Collar and George, sat in her "body-coach" drawn by eight horses, and in which were also the Countesses of Marlborough and Sunderland. The Duke of Ormond who by this time had landed, and who chanced to be in his turn the Staff Officer in waiting was in another coach, and as he passed was greeted with loud cheers, cheers due to his amiable

[1] Commons Journals, Oct. 24 and Nov. 19, 1702.

qualities far more than to his military skill. "From that day" says an historian "may be dated the great popularity which he afterwards acquired and which in the end proved fatal to him."[2]

The Commons in the same spirit passed separate Votes of Thanks to the three commanders; and cheerfully granted the supplies required for the year. They voted 40,000 seamen: and that the proportion of land-forces for England to act in concert with those of the Allies should be 33,000 foot and 7,000 horse.

Such was the general aspect of English politics when towards the close of the month Marlborough returned from the Hague. Ever since his successes on the Meuse the Queen had been most desirous to raise him to the rank of Duke. Lady Marlborough however was adverse to the scheme as thinking that their fortune was as yet not adequate to the higher rank. Finally Mrs. Morley prevailed with her dear Mrs. Freeman; and the patent for the Dukedom was accordingly made out in the first days of December. To meet in some degree the objection on the score of income the Queen at the same time granted to Marlborough for the term of her own life a pension of 5,000*l.* a year derived from the Post Office revenue. She further sent a Message to the House of Commons desiring that this pension might be settled for ever on the title.

Both the title and the pension were it may be thought premature. Had they been granted two years later they would have been received with general approbation, nay enthusiasm, as the just prize of most eminent exploits. Now on the other hand they were but coldly looked upon. The successes on the Meuse though substantial had not been splendid; they had not comprised a battle nor even a skirmish; and they did not seem to require such exuberance of rewards. It was remembered that Marlborough besides his great appoint-

[2] Tindal's Hist. vol. iii. p. 436.

CHAP. II. 1702.

ments in England was now in receipt of 10,000*l.* a year from the Dutch as commander-in-chief of their troops. It was remembered that the Duchess centered in her own hands no less than four Court offices, each of them well paid.[3]

Under these circumstances the proposal to settle the pension for ever on the Dukedom found no favour in the House. Sir Christopher Musgrave in particular spoke warmly against it. Far from complying the Commons voted an Address to Her Majesty fully acknowledging the Duke's great services but stating though with "inexpressible grief" the apprehensions they had "of making a precedent for the future alienations of the Revenue of the Crown which has been so much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the last reign."

The Queen was much chagrined. She wrote at once to the Duchess expressing her wish "to do something towards making up what has been so maliciously hindered in the Parliament. And therefore I desire my dear Mrs. Freeman and Mr. Freeman would be so kind as to accept of two thousand a year out of the Privy Purse besides the grant of the five. This can draw no envy for nobody need know it." The Duchess however in a disinterested spirit firmly declined this further bounty. But the end of this story is not quite so edifying. At a later time and upon her disgrace at Court the Duchess claimed and received the whole pension since the date of the offer, that is for the preceding nine years.[4]

[3] The official income of the Duke and Duchess at the height of their favor, amounted jointly to the prodigious sum of 64,325*l.* See the exact items in the History of England from the Peace of Utrecht, vol. i. p. 27.

[4] Coxe's Marlborough, vol. i. p. 208 and vol. v. p. 415.

CHAPTER III.

CHAP. III. 1702.

It has been shown how notwithstanding a slight check from the House of Commons Marlborough had at this time attained the highest pinnacle of rank and dignity, unbounded influence at Court and supreme command in the field. At this point then it may be convenient to pause in the narrative while it is attempted in some detail to delineate his character. To judge him rightly we should avoid both that eagerness in his depreciation which Lord Macaulay shows; and that servile spirit in which certain other writers have striven to conceal his faults and to flatter his descendants. We should neither seek to dim the lustre of his glory nor yet be dazzled by its rays.

A parallel between Marlborough and Wellington, beyond all doubt our two greatest military chiefs, would be a most tempting topic were we further removed from the period of the last. On some points it has already been sketched with perfect fairness by the Duke of Wellington himself.[1] But there would remain many other points to pursue. One of the most curious lies in the difference of age at which their respective triumphs were achieved. Marlborough can scarcely be said to have commanded an army in chief or on any great occasion till the campaign of 1702. Born in 1650 he was then fifty-two years of age. Wellington had no further service in the field since the battle of Waterloo. Born in 1769 he was then forty-six years of age. It follows on this comparison of ages that the victorious

[1] The Duke's Memorandum on Marlborough is dated Sept. 18, 1836, and published in the Stanhope Miscellanies, p. 97.

CHAP. III.

career of Wellington ended before the victorious career of Marlborough commenced.

1702. Leaving a fuller parallel to the coming age there is yet one slight point of difference that may here be noted. The Duke of Wellington—as is well remembered by all his familiar friends—was fond of writing. Scarce a day when it did not engage some hours of his time; and from constant habit it had become almost a necessary to him. Marlborough on the contrary whose training had been at a most frivolous Court where in early youth his AIR INDOLENT is commemorated [2] did not work willingly at his desk. When his duty came to require it he did write and he wrote clearly and well. But he says of himself in a letter to his wife during his first great campaign: "I am on horseback or answering letters all day long. . . . So that if it were not for my zeal in the Queen's service I should certainly desert for you know of all things I do not love writing." [3]

It was said by Voltaire that Marlborough had never besieged a fortress which he had not taken, never fought a battle which he had not won, never conducted a negotiation which he had not brought to a prosperous close. The full significance of this praise will scarcely be appreciated until it is seen to how few of the greatest chiefs it would apply. It could not be said of the Black Prince, of Condé or Turenne, of Eugene or of Frederick. It could not be said of Wellington when we remember that he raised the siege of Burgos. It could not be said of Napoleon even had he died before the battle of Leipsick when we remember that he raised the siege of Acre.

To what then are we to ascribe this uniform success in Marlborough? Not so much to good fortune, though of that he had his share, but rather to the rarest combination of high qualities. His courage was not of that

[2] Mémoires de Grammont, p. 302, ed. 1792.
[3] Camp at Over Asselt, July 17, 1702.

impetuous and inferior kind which kindles at the approach of danger and rushes beyond the control of prudence. On the contrary it was always well-poised, calm, sustained, and exactly adequate to each occasion. It would not be easy to show even a single case in any part of his military life in which he deserved like Charles of Burgundy the epithet of TÉMÉRAIRE, nor yet any other case in which for want of daring he let a favorable opportunity slip by. His genius for war was not formed by tactics and by rules but rather from the dictates of an excellent though untutored understanding. Never misled by passion, nor warped by any other disturbing influence his clear good sense could form a decision calmly on the balance of opposite advantages; and then abide the issue prosperous or unprosperous as calmly. With him there were none of those after-thoughts and waverings—those painful doubts—"have I judged rightly? might I not have decided better?"—which perplex a common mind.

His expectant calmness was indeed, in Marlborough's own opinion, one secret of his great success. "Patience will overcome all things" so he wrote to Godolphin in 1702. Five years later we find him repeat nearly the same sentiment with something of that fatalist view which has often been a favourite with great commanders, Cæsar for example and Napoleon: He says—this also to Godolphin:—"As I think most things are governed by destiny, having done all that is possible one should submit with patience."[4]

Most men it is probable would acknowledge the great value of calmness in human affairs, but many are or think they are, impelled beyond their strength to swerve from it. Marlborough on the contrary had no bursts of passion. No man ever observed the smallest flurry in his demeanor nor the least variation in his countenance. Nature had gifted him with an admirable sweetness and

[4] Letters, as printed in Coxe's Life, July 13, 1702, and August 2, 1708.

CHAP. III. 1702.

serenity of temper. Nothing in public life at least could ruffle his composure; neither the scruples of the Dutch deputies which so often interposed between him and an almost certain victory; nor the pretensions as unseasonably urged of his German colleagues; neither the calumnies of his opponents nor the changes in his friends; an attack in Parliament as little as an onset from the French. It is recorded of him that once as he heard a surly groom mutter some words of anger behind him he quietly turned to Commissary Marriot who was riding by his side and said: "Now I would not have that fellow's temper for all the world."

With the suavity of mind in this great chief there was also no less suavity of manner. So competent a judge as Lord Chesterfield speaks of him in the following terms: "Of all the men that ever I knew in my life (and I knew him extremely well) the late Duke of Marlborough possessed the Graces in the highest degree not to say engrossed them." [5] These Graces enhanced the effect of his noble cast of countenance and of his singular beauty both of face and form. They gave him on every occasion a most fascinating influence; they enabled him wherever he desired it to please and to persuade. Even so hostile a witness as Mrs. Manley, and one so unscrupulous in her assertions, acknowledges his irresistible charm.[6] Nor was it that he condescended too far or stooped to those below him. Lord Chesterfield in the same passage already cited goes on to state: "With all his gentleness and gracefulness no man living was more conscious of his situation nor maintained his dignity better."

It is gratifying to record that the gentleness of Marlborough was not on the surface only. Though not as I imagine warm-hearted beyond the precincts of his home,

[5] To his son, November 18, 1748. See some remarks on this passage in Lord Macaulay's History, vol. iv. p. 744.

[6] New Atalantis, vol. i. p. 22, &c. ed. 1736.

he was an humane and compassionate man. Even in the eagerness to pursue fresh conquests he did not ever—as might sometimes be alleged of Napoleon—neglect the care of the wounded. To his prisoners he showed a kindly courtesy and was careful to exhibit no exultation in their presence. He was in general glad to render a service to any one to whom he bore good will, whenever it did not put him to expense nor clash with his own views. This may be called very moderate praise, yet it will not seem so to any one who has had experience of public affairs.

The great qualities of Marlborough were not confined to a narrow circle. No man in English History has had more influence on the fate of other nations or on the fame of his own. It was he who gave to the Germanic Empire another century of life, since but for him it would have ended in 1704 instead of 1806. It was he who step by step—siege after siege and battle after battle—wrested the Low Countries from the portentous union of France and Spain. It was he who was the soul, the animating genius, of the whole confederacy not merely in the army where he commanded but in all where he advised. But above all our gratitude as Englishmen is due to him because he so "signally retrieved" (let us adopt those words from the Commons' votes) the ancient glory of England. That glory had been dimmed during the ignoble reigns of James the First and Charles the Second, while William who succeeded them had upon the Continent far more of merit than success. To Marlborough beyond all others belongs the praise of bringing back to our arms the full lustre that beamed upon them in the days of the Edwards and the Henries. The days of Queen Anne need fear no comparison with those. Ramillies and Blenheim are worthy to be enrolled side by side with Agincourt, Cressy, and Poitiers.

If from the merits of this great man we pass—and

CHAP. III. 1702.

how far less welcome the task! — to his errors and defects, we may first observe in his politics a laxity or disregard of principle. To correspond with King James at St. Germain's, after taking the oath to King William at St. James's and accepting posts in his service, is a grievous fault not to be excused and only in some measure to be palliated by the too general practice of other politicians of that age. But of that fault not confined to offers of service or entreaties for pardon but carried to a most treacherous extreme there are in the career of Marlborough two signal and painful examples.

The first of these was his secret disclosure of the Brest project to the French Government in 1694—a disclosure by which as is well known the expedition was defeated and several hundred English lives were lost. The fact rests on his own letter to King James, first made public in 1775, and seems to admit of denial as little as it does of defence.[7]

The second instance is of 1715. It is alleged that Marlborough being then in name at least Commander in Chief for King George, sent over in secret a sum of money to assist the exiled Prince in his invasion of the kingdom. Of this second charge the public in general are not so fully aware nor is it quite so clearly established. The first indication as also the sole proof of it is contained in a letter which I found among the Stuart Papers at Windsor and published in the first volume of my History of England.[8] This letter bearing date September 25, 1715, is in the hand-writing of Bolingbroke who was then at Paris acting as Secretary of State for the Pretender. Writing to his Royal Master he complains how much his proceedings are divulged. "I must still say" he writes "that since I have been in business I never observed so little secret as there has

[7] See Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. p. 487. Coxe glides over this transaction as rapidly as possible (vol. i. p. 75), while Lord Macaulay dilates on every detail (vol. iv. p. 508).

[8] Appendix to vol. i. p. xxxiii.

been in your Majesty's affairs. For instance a gentleman belonging to Stair named the very number of battalions which we expected from Sweden; and the Marquis d'Effiat told me the very sum which Marlborough has advanced to you."

Here the evidence is no doubt only indirect. But I must observe that Bolingbroke writing a private letter to James and alluding to Marlborough's loan as to a certain fact could have no imaginable motive for misrepresentation on this point, and I must own myself convinced that even by these two sentences the second charge is sufficiently proved.

Another fault of Marlborough was his love of money. This was shown alike in his large accumulations and in his petty savings. Sometimes though rarely it peeps forth in his own familiar letters. Thus when two years after the event he refers to his remarkable escape from the French freebooters on the Meuse through the ready wit of his servant, Gell, the Duke makes only this one comment upon it: "He has cost me 50*l.* a year ever since."[9]

This love of money in Marlborough as in a few years it became generally known was the topic of numerous taunts from his opponents. It drew forth on several occasions the ribaldry of Swift.[1] But even Swift never showed so much wit in pressing this imputation as did once Lord Peterborough. The mob, misled probably by the likeness of the General's uniform, mistook him for the Duke, and the Duke being then out of favor with them, they were preparing to ill-treat him. "Gentlemen" said Peterborough "I can convince you by two reasons that I am not the Duke of Marlborough. In

[9] To the Duchess, Oct. 3, 1704. See Coxe's Marlborough, vol. i. p. 192.

[1] As for instance in "An excellent new Song," where he makes Lord Nottingham "Orator Dismal" pay a visit at Blenheim:

The Duke showed me all his fine house and the Duchess
From her closet brought out a full purse in her clutches.

&c. &c. This was in 1711. Works, vol. x. p. 375, ed. 1814.

CHAP. III. 1702.

the first place I have but five guineas in my pocket; and in the second place here they are, much at your service!" [2]

In the same spirit we find St. John then Secretary of State write as follows to his friend at the Hague: "I am sorry that my Lord Marlborough gives you so much trouble; it is the only thing he will ever give you." [3] Such might be the taunt of St. John; such was not the opinion of Bolingbroke. Years afterwards when the heats of that party strife had passed, Bolingbroke was one day descanting on the many admirable qualities of Marlborough, and some one present let fall a word on his avarice, "He was so great a man" rejoined Bolingbroke "that I forgot he had that defect."

The deliberate opinion of Bolingbroke on Marlborough—and it is equally to the honor of both—may be seen in those eloquent Letters which he drew up in 1736 during his retirement in Touraine. "Over the confederacy, he (the Duke of Marlborough) a new, a private man acquired by merit and by management a more deciding influence than high birth, confirmed authority, and even the Crown of Great Britain had given to King William. . . . . I take with pleasure this opportunity of doing justice to a great man whose faults I knew, whose virtues I admired; and whose memory as the greatest General and the greatest Minister that our country or perhaps any other has produced I honor." [4]

Another point in the character of Marlborough may be as the reader pleases termed either a merit or defect: it was in fact a virtue carried to a faulty extreme. I mean his devoted attachment to his wife. It is pleasing to observe him at the busiest moments of his high commands fondly revert to his favourite retreat of Sandridge

[2] Seward's Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, vol. ii. p. 243, ed. 1804.

[3] To Mr. Drummond, March 13, 1711. Diplomatic Correspondence of Bolingbroke, published 1798 in two quarto volumes.

[4] Letters on the Study of History, vol. ii. p. 60, ed. 1752.

near St. Alban's. Thus he says to Lady Marlborough at the opening of his first important campaign: "We have now very hot weather which I hope will ripen the fruit at St. Alban's. When you are there pray think how happy I should be walking alone with you. No ambition can make me amends for being from you." Two years later on his march to the Danube we find him pass a day at the beautiful village of Weinheim well known to modern tourists. Thence he writes: "I am now in a house of the Elector Palatine that has a prospect over the finest country that is possible to be seen. I see out of my chamber window the Rhine and the Neckar and his two principal towns of Mannheim and Heidelberg, but I should be much better pleased with the prospect of St. Alban's which is not very famous for seeing far." [5] Such expressions may be compared with those equally tender which Nelson from his flag-ship and on his way to Trafalgar applies to his beloved cottage and beloved companion at Merton. But there is one important difference wholly in favor of the former—the endearments of Marlborough were addressed to his own wife and those of Nelson to another's.

But while allowing with all due commendation that Marlborough in a most dissolute age was ever affectionate, ever constant, to his wife, we may think that like another great chief Belisarius he was no hero at home. Not that there were in the Duchess any moral frailties to forgive as there were in Antonina; but with a temper which Nature had made imperious her animosities were fierce and her bursts of passion frequent. It would have been greatly to her own happiness had there been to curb them a husband's resolute will. We find Marlborough on the contrary as judged by his own letters constantly suffer under them but never rebel. We find him almost sunk in despair until the Duchess herself relents. A single instance out of many

[5] To the Duchess, July 17, 1702, and June 2, 1704.

CHAP. III. 1702.

may suffice. When Marlborough left England for the campaign which was to culminate in Blenheim there had been between him and the Duchess "some petty bickerings" as Archdeacon Coxe has called them, using the term perhaps not quite correctly where the violence was solely on one side. The Duchess however wrote to him in terms of reconciliation and Marlborough thus rejoins: "You have by this kindness preserved my quiet and I believe my life, for till I had this letter I have been very indifferent what should become of myself."[6]

We have seen that Marlborough had been raised to a Dukedom in December 1702. He valued that dignity in the hope of its transmission to his only son lately called Lord Churchill and now Marquess of Blandford. But the Nemesis too often the attendant on high prosperity was now close behind him. In February 1703 the young nobleman who was pursuing his studies at Cambridge fell ill of the small-pox and in two days expired. The grief of both parents was extreme. They were cheered in some measure by the great kindness of the Queen, who mindful of the like affliction to herself, offered if they wished it to go and stay with them at Sandridge, for as she says "the unfortunate ought to come to the unfortunate."[7]

In the letters that passed soon after this sad bereavement it is curious to observe, in token of that ceremonious age, how formally the Duke mentions his children. Writing to Godolphin he refers to his lost son as "poor Lord Churchill;" writing to the Duchess he expresses his satisfaction that their youngest daughter—"dear Lady Mary"—is then with her.[8] It will be found in like manner on examining the letters of the period, that sons most commonly address their parents as "Sir" and "Madam."

[6] To the Duchess, Hague May 5, 1704.

[7] The Queen to the Duchess, Tuesday night (Feb. 23, 1703).

[8] See Coxe's Marlborough, vol. i. p. 226 and 229.

It is also worthy of note how little value was set by Marlborough on that female succession which alone remained to him. He passionately longed for another son to inherit his titles. When the Duchess during the next summer complained to him of being indisposed he rejoined as follows: "Pray let me have in every one of your letters an account how you do. If it should prove such a sickness as that I might pity you, but not be sorry for it, it might yet make me have ambition." [9]

From this digression we may now return to the proceedings in Parliament. There were two measures at the commencement of the Session on which the Court laid especial stress. The first was introduced by a Message from the Queen desiring that a further provision might be made for the Prince her husband in case he should survive her. The House being in Committee thereupon Mr. Howe rose and moved a grant to the enormous amount of 100,000*l.* a year. The prodigality of this proposal will best appear when we are told that it was double of what any Queen of England ever had in jointure,—double also of what was voted for Prince Leopold on his marriage with the Princess Charlotte of Wales. But on the other hand there was the dread of displeasing Her Majesty; and so the Bill which embodied this lavish grant passed the Commons with only a semblance of debate. In the Lords the case was altered. Even then however the Peers did not take battle on the main question but rather on a collateral issue. The Lower House had inserted a Clause declaring that Prince George should not be liable in any future reign to the incapacity of holding employments which was imposed upon foreigners by the Act of Settlement. This was regarded by the Peers as what is termed a tack upon a Money Bill. They had quite recently passed a Standing Order that the annex-

[9] To the Duchess, June 3, 1703.

CHAP. III. 1702.

ing any clause to a Bill of Supply the matter of which is foreign to the matter of the said Bill "is unparliamentary and tends to the destruction of the constitution of this Government." [1]

On this ground the Bill for the Prince's annuity was stoutly resisted in the House of Lords; while on behalf of the clause it was contended that it formed no real tack, since both parts of the Bill referred to the same person. There were some warm debates, but in the end the Court prevailed. The Bill passed with the obnoxious Clause, while Protests against it were signed by some Peers of great name and wealth, as Devonshire and Somerset, as also by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Burnet, and others of the Bishops of King William.

Marlborough was of course among the warmest supporters of this measure. Greatly to his chagrin the opposite course was taken by the husband of his second daughter who had recently succeeded his father as Earl of Sunderland. The young Earl not only voted but signed a Protest, and drew upon himself in consequence a storm of rage from the Duchess. A family quarrel ensued; only composed after some time and with the utmost difficulty through Lady Sunderland's affectionate entreaties.

The second measure for which the Queen showed sympathy was the Bill for preventing Occasional Conformity. It was not however a Ministerial measure. We learn from the Commons Journals that it was brought in by three private Members of that House; one of them Henry St. John who had sat for Wotton Basset since 1700 and was rapidly rising into fame.[2] "Occasional Conformity" in those days was held forth by the High Churchmen as a thing to be abhorred. By that phrase was meant the compliance of Dissenters

[1] Lords Journals, December 9, 1702.
[2] Commons Journals, November 4, 1702.

with the provisions of the Test Act only in order that they might qualify themselves to hold office or to become members of a Corporation. It was found that the persons so admitted gave in general their support to the Whigs; and the Tories had therefore a party motive in seeking to exclude them. But when it was attempted to show that some danger to the Church arose from this Occasional Conformity the alarm whether real or feigned was certainly ill-founded. It is shown by Mr. Hallam in a lucid argument that the Church on the contrary derived advantage from the practice.[3] To carry his argument further—can we doubt that it is the interest of the Church as much as her duty to open the door as widely as possible to her ministrations? If she holds, as hold she must, that these ministrations are of all others most agreeable to Divine truth and to human reason, has she not every thing to gain by inviting not her sons only but strangers also to attend them? We are told by an excellent poet that in some cases those who came to scoff remain to pray; and it may no less justly be presumed that those who came only from interested motives and to fulfil the requirements of an unwise law might be touched and won over by what they heard and saw.

Considerations such as these had no weight with the Tories of Queen Anne; and dislike of the Dissenters carried every thing before it. In the preamble of the measure all persecution for conscience sake was expressly condemned; nevertheless it proposed that all those who had taken the Sacrament and Test for offices of trust or the magistracy of Corporations and who afterwards attended any meeting for religious worship of Dissenters, should be disabled from holding their employments, and pay a fine of 100*l.* besides 5*l.* for every day in which they continued to act in their employments

[3] Constitutional History, vol. iii. p. 248, ed. 1855.

CHAP. III. 1702.

after having been at any such meeting. They were also made incapable of holding any other employment till after one whole year's conformity to the Church to be proved at the Quarter Sessions; and upon a relapse both the penalties and the period of incapacity were to be doubled.

With these provisions the Bill passed rapidly through all its stages in the Commons. But in the Lords it was encountered with sturdy resistance by the Whig Peers and a large majority of William's Bishops. They forbore any direct opposition, rightly judging that the best means to defeat the measure would be to move a great number of mitigations and exceptions, some of these to touch the pecuniary fines which would rouse the Constitutional jealousy of the House of Commons. On these tactics therefore they proceeded.[4] On the other hand the Queen in her mistaken zeal for the Church strained all her influence to promote the passing of the Bill. Not only the heads of her government as Marlborough and Godolphin but her Royal Consort went down to vote for it. Yet Prince George's was in truth a melancholy case since this voter against Occasional Conformity was himself an Occasional Conformist. While he had received the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England to be qualified for his office as Lord High Admiral he had continued to attend the private Lutheran Chapel which he maintained. Accordingly he seems to have voted with a very rueful countenance. It is said that just before they went to a division he came up close to Lord Wharton, a strenuous opponent of the Bill, and whispered: "My heart is vid you."[5]

Notwithstanding this Court influence not perhaps very wisely exerted, the Whig Peers carried their amendments. On the other part the majority in the

[4] The Lords Amendments and the Commons Amendments to theirs are given at full length in the Parl. History, vol. vi. p. 62–92.

[5] Tindal's History, vol. iii. p. 452.

Commons was not at all disposed to yield. A Free Conference between the Managers of the two Houses took place in the Painted Chamber—crowded beyond all precedent—on the 16th of January 1703; and some Reasons carefully drawn were on several occasions interchanged. It was in vain. As the Lords had hoped from the beginning no agreement could be come to on the Bill. And to allay the rising heats between the Houses it was found desirable for the Queen to put a close to the Session with some abruptness at the end of February.

There were some other proceedings however before the Session was closed.—The Commons overhauled the accounts of the Earl of Ranelagh, Paymaster-General of the Forces.—They passed a Bill which, with an amendment making it High Treason to endeavour to defeat the Succession as now limited by Statute, was agreed to by the Lords and became law; it gave one more year as a further term of grace to those who were required to take the Oath of Abjuration.—There was also a conclusion, very tame and impotent to the affair of the famous Kentish Petition. Mr. Colepepper being proceeded against by the Attorney-General according to the order of the House tendered his absolute submission. He was called to the Bar and asked whether he was sorry for his conduct. He replied that he was sorry; upon which the action against him was stayed by an Address to the Queen.

The victory of the Tories at the last General Election had not been to them an unalloyed advantage. As may often be observed in the working of our English parties they had lost in cohesion while they gained in numbers. On the accession of the Queen they were content to follow in the wake of Marlborough and Godolphin. But many more of them now began to think, as Rochester had thought from the first, that we should beware of plunging too far into continental affairs—that

CHAP. III. 1708.

it behoved us to be auxiliaries rather than principals in the contest, and to carry on the war so far as possible by sea instead of land. The large expense which it involved was terrifying to their minds. Above all it greatly galled them to be told—bearing in mind their bitter aversion to the memory of King William—that the Ministers taken from their ranks professed to be and were in truth, only the continuators of his foreign policy.

Of all the discontented Tories Rochester was chief. He had aspired to be at the head of the Treasury, and regarded the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland as only a kind of banishment. During many months he had been absent from his post to which he showed no sign of returning—a circumstance of course not unnoticed nor left unimproved by the Whig writers of that day.[6] The Earl preferred remaining in London and caballing with his friends.

Under these circumstances Marlborough and Godolphin had several anxious consultations. They wished to free themselves of their troublesome colleague, but if possible by his own act, and they resolved "to open the trenches" as Marlborough might have termed it whenever the Session had closed and Marlborough set out for the army. At that time therefore an order was obtained from the Queen bidding Rochester repair forthwith to his government in Ireland. Rochester haughtily refused; and the order being repeated, he angrily resigned. This was the very course which his rivals had expected and designed. His resignation was accepted, and the Duke of Ormond was appointed in his place.

His removal however did not avail to compose the dissension in the Tory ranks. The Earl of Nottingham

[6] Thus for instance William Walsh, then the colleague of Sir John Packington in Worcestershire —the "knowing Walsh" of Pope— inserted these lines in his "Golden Age" written at this period:

Vice-roys, like Providence, with distant care,
Shall govern kingdoms where they ne'er appear.

the new Secretary of State had cordially embraced his views and continued to act in concert with him. Their objects, shortly stated, were to render the war in the Low Countries so far as possible defensive, and to press hard on the Dissenters, and the favourers of Dissenters, at home. Towards these aims Nottingham was supported more or less openly by several men holding office in both Houses, by the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Jersey in the Lords; by his brother Secretary Sir Charles Hedges and by Sir Edward Seymour in the Commons. It seemed probable that a breach between the moderate and the high Tories could not be much longer averted. All through the next campaign we find Marlborough harassed with letters from Godolphin and the Duchess filled with complaints against Nottingham and Nottingham's allies. It was a most vexatious addition to Marlborough's other and weighty cares. Thus on one of these occasions he writes in reply: "What you say of Lord Nottingham concerning the park is very scandalous but very natural to that person. I wish with all my heart the Queen were rid of him so that she had a good man in his place, which I am afraid is pretty difficult. . . . We are bound not to wish for any body's death, but if Sir Edward Seymour should die I am convinced it would be no great loss to the Queen nor the nation." And again a week later; "I cannot say a word for excusing the Dutch of the backwardness of their sea preparations this year; but if that or any thing else should produce a coldness between England and Holland, France would gain her point, which I hope in God I shall never live to see; for our poor country would then be the miserablest part of all Christendom." [7]

In Ireland the Ministers were thought to have done well in the appointment of the Duke of Ormond, who possessed and who deserved the popular favor. But

[7] To the Duchess: Camp at Henef, June 14 and 21, 1703.

CHAP. III. 1703.

Ireland at this time gave little disquiet or anxiety to England. The large Roman Catholic party, trodden to the ground by the iron heel of William and bound fast by the Penal Laws, showed scarcely a sign of life. There was nothing, on the surface at least, to trouble the strong current of the Protestant Ascendency.

The case was far otherwise in Scotland. There the most numerous party, the mass of the people, had triumphed at the Revolution. They had beaten down Episcopacy; they had set up their cherished form of Presbyterian rule; they were supreme in their Parliament; and inflamed by their wrongs at Darien they were now prepared to manifest by many tokens a most inconvenient independence. These tokens must now be detailed.

First then as to the project of Union. The Queen had been empowered by a Scottish as by an English Act of Parliament to name Commissioners for the discussion of this momentous subject, and they held their first meeting at the Cockpit, Whitehall (then the Privy Council Chamber) in October 1702. They comprised the chief officers of State in both countries and seemed rather too numerous for business there being twenty-three for England and twenty-one for the sister kingdom.[8] In practice however the fault as to the numbers proved to be the other way. Such was the slackness of attendance in the English members that at one time a quorum could not be formed upon their side; and this greatly chafed the temper of the Scots.

The two first and fundamental propositions—to establish the succession to the Throne according to the Act of Settlement—and to provide one legislature for the united kingdom were readily agreed to. But the unanimity ceased as soon as questions of finance came on. The Scots put forward divers claims of privilege or of exemption. To these it was answered, almost sarcasti-

[8] See the lists in the "Complete History of Europe for 1702," p. 458.

cally, that the Scottish proposals, the one for an equality of duties, the other to be exempt from the debts of England, were self-contradictory, since the duties in England were mainly levied to pay the National Debt.[9]

Of some other answers the Scots had good reason to complain. When they claimed "a free trade between the two kingdoms for native commodities" the English replied that there must be an exception with respect to wool. When they claimed a free trade with the plantations they were reminded "that the plantations are the property of Englishmen and that this trade is of so great a consequence and so beneficial . . . . ." On the other hand the Scots not quite so justly asked that their own Darien Company should be preserved—a demand scarcely compatible with the existence of the East India Company in England. They were further desirous it would seem that there should be some compensation to the sufferers of Darien from the Treasury of England. On the whole it was soon apparent that taking both sides together there was little earnestness and no conciliation. They held meetings however till the 3rd of February when they were adjourned by a Royal Letter till the autumn following; but in fact they never met again.

During this time there had been in Scotland a General Election, the first since the Convention of Estates in 1689; for there not being in that country a Triennial nor even a Septennial Act there was no reason in law why a Parliament should not subsist so long as the Sovereign survived and perhaps as some contended even longer still. The new Scottish Parliament however did not meet till many weeks after the English had been prorogued. It assembled at Edinburgh on the 6th of May with the post of Royal Commissioner once more filled by the Duke of Queensberry, a man of good parts but wanting application to business.

[9] Burton's History of Scotland from 1689 to 1748, vol. i. p. 344.

CHAP. III. 1703.

The first matter to which this new Parliament applied itself was to provide for the security of the Presbyterian Church establishment. There was a rumour that the High Tories in England had much at heart the restoration of the Episcopal form in Scotland. Nor was this rumour without foundation, as appears from some secret letters which have but lately come to light. The Archbishop of York, who was known to enjoy the Royal favour, had said at a meeting of some friends relative to the project of Union, "Now is the time for restoring Episcopacy in Scotland; and if that be not intended by the Union both the nation and the Church will be losers by it." Lord Rochester was more cautious as it behoves a statesman to be: "I know not" he said, "when if ever it would be seasonable to restore Episcopacy in Scotland, but I am sure this is not the season to speak of it."[1] We may easily perceive however which way his wishes tended.

These words were not publicly known. But there was also a rumour of sympathetic tendencies in a letter addressed by the Queen to the Privy Council of Scotland. The letter when printed was found to contain only a plea for Toleration. It signified "our Royal pleasure" that the Episcopalians, or as the letter cautiously termed them the "Dissenters," might be "protected in the peaceable exercise of their religion and in their persons and estates according to the laws of the kingdom. And we recommend to the Clergy of the established discipline their living in brotherly love and communion with such Dissenters." At present no exception could be taken to these words. But in Scotland, during the reign of Anne, the principle of toleration was abhorred by the prevailing party. And then brotherly love! Brotherly love with Bishops and

[1] James Johnstone (late Secretary) to George Baillie of Jerviswood, February 13, 1703. Jerviswood Correspondence, edited by the Earl of Minto for the Bannatyne Club and printed in 1842.

favourers of Bishops! It was almost too shocking to think of! Such were the impressions under which the rulers of the Kirk appear at that time to have acted. When therefore in pursuance of the Royal Letter the Earl of Strathmore brought in a Bill "for a toleration to all Protestants in the exercise of religious worship" the Presbyterian chiefs contemptuously tossed aside the project or rather let it die away. Instead of this they applied themselves to frame and pass a Declaratory Act ratifying and confirming the Church Establishment of the Revolution; while at the same time it was made High Treason to impugn any article of the Claim of Right.

CHAP. III. 1703.

It is worthy of record that in this Act—brought in by the Earl of Marchmont lately Chancellor of Scotland—to satisfy the Presbyterian Church Establishment it was described as "the only Church of Christ within this kingdom." Some members—and more especially Sir David Cunningham of Milncraig—took exception to this phrase as wanting in charity to other denominations of Christians. But the Marquess of Lothian in his zeal started up and cried that the clause was right, since he was sure the Presbyterian government was the best part of the Christian religion—a reply which as we are told and as we might have supposed "set all the House in a merry temper."[2] Nevertheless the Act was passed with these obnoxious words.

In temporal affairs these "Estates" were no less forward. Their great object seemed to be to make Scotland in fact as in name a kingdom separate from England. An Act was passed by them declaring that after Her Majesty's decease no King or Queen of Scotland should have the power to make peace or war without consent of Parliament. And as if to show that they held themselves free of the war against France

[2] Lockhart Papers, or Memoirs by George Lockhart of Carnwath, vol. i. p. 65, ed. 1817.

CHAP. III.

1703. which was already waging, they brought forward another measure to remove even in the midst of war the restrictions on the importation of French wines. The Jacobites, or as they termed themselves the Cavaliers, who mustered strong in this Parliament, cordially supported the Bill, foreseeing that it would afford them constant and easy means of communication with their exiled Court at St. Germain's. It passed accordingly notwithstanding the opposition of Fletcher of Saltoun at the head of a party of Whigs. The Ministry in London contrary to the expectation of some persons subsequently allowed both these measures to become law —giving leave that the Queen's Commissioner should touch them with the Sceptre, which according to the Scottish forms was held to be equivalent to the Royal Assent—the LA REYNE LE VULT—of England.

Much stronger measures were in contemplation. Fletcher, whose principles were in truth not Whiggish but anti-monarchical, framed a scheme which received the name of the Limitations, its object being to take the patronage of office from the Crown and to exercise it in the Estates by the mode of ballot. "A republican project!" said some of the Court party. "Not at all" answered Fletcher, "it merely transfers the power of governing Scotland from a knot of English placemen to the Scottish Parliament."

It was indeed a turbulent scene that Edinburgh all through this summer displayed. The wildest measures debated—the most utter disregard as to their final consequences—and the parties, each far more violent and reckless than the corresponding party in England. Each party, it might appear, was willing even to injure itself, provided only it could in a still greater degree injure its opponents. All were now intent on framing the so-called Act of Security—to provide for the succession to the Crown in the too probable event of the Queen dying without children. It had been supposed that the

Scottish Parliament would take the same part as the English, and declare the Princess Sophia as the nearest Protestant the presumptive heir. But the very fact of England having so decided seemed to be held a sufficient reason why Scotland should not.

Fletcher of Saltoun whose energy gave him a great ascendant in this Assembly was especially active in framing this new Bill. It proposed that on the decease of Her Majesty without issue the Estates should name a successor from the Protestant descendants of the Royal Line, but should be debarred from choosing the admitted successor to the Crown of England unless there were to be such forms of government settled as should fully secure the religion, freedom and trade of the Scottish nation. In that shape was the measure completed after a stormy summer of debate. It passed the House and awaited the decision of the Government.

During this interval however the Earl of Marchmont made an attempt, however hopeless it might seem, to assimilate the law of Scotland upon this point to the law of England. He rose and asked leave to present another Act for settling the Succession; and the House listened with curiosity while the Clerk proceeded to read it. But when the Clerk came to the words "Princess Sophia" there was a burst of uncontrollable rage. "Let the overture be burned!" exclaimed some members.—"Call the mover to the Bar!" —"Send him to the Castle!" was the cry of others. Finally it was resolved that no record of so heinous a proposal should be allowed to stand; and that all notice of it should be omitted from the Minutes.

This occurred on the 6th of September. On the 10th after much pressing the Duke of Queensberry as Commissioner said that he was empowered to touch with the Sceptre all the Acts that had been passed except only the Act of Security. The loss of this their favourite object inflamed the Estates into fury. They

CHAP. III.

1703.

were preparing to pass some violent measures which Fletcher had devised, as to disqualify all officers of the army and civil office from being elected members of Parliament, when on the 16th the Duke hastily closed the Session and adjourned the House without any subsidy having been obtained.

The Act of Security which thus fell to the ground began to excite much attention and remark in England. It had been urged forward by men who for the most part were vehement against the project of a Legislative Union, and it is curious to observe how completely they counterworked their own intention. They had wished to make the Union difficult, but in fact they made it inevitable. When reflecting men in England came to see to what lengths a Scottish Parliament would go—how in the midst of an European war it would refuse or elude any grant of supply—how sooner than fail in its party objects it would put to eventual hazard the union on the same head of the two Crowns—they judged and rightly judged that an union of the two Legislatures also had become essential to the welfare nay the safety of both countries. They therefore began to feel for that contemplated measure a growing earnestness which they never till then had manifested, and which at no distant period as will be shown succeeded over many obstacles in attaining its fulfilment.

For the Scottish people at this period they were disposed to blame their own office-holders—the Commissioner, Chancellor and so forth—as having thwarted their wishes and entangled their affairs. In fact however these Ministers had only the shadow of power; as regards the substance they were entirely dependent on Marlborough and Godolphin. They were seen next winter to attend in humble guise the Levees of these two Magnates at Whitehall, and found on some occasions their ill success in Scotland visited upon them.

Thus writes Lockhart of Carnwath: "I myself out of curiosity went once to their Levees where I saw the Commissioner, Chancellor, Secretary, and other great men of Scotland, hang on near an hour, and when admitted treated with no more civility than one gentleman pays to another's valet de chambre." [3]

It was no doubt with a view to the state of affairs in Scotland, and to reward some of her loyal adherents in that country, that the Queen at this period revived the Order of the Thistle which had been called from desuetude by James the Second but let fall in the succeeding reign. The number of Knights at this its fresh foundation was limited to twelve. There were also some new promotions and new peerages. Both the Marquess of Douglas, though under age, and the Marquess of Athol, were raised to the rank of Dukes.

As regards the conduct of the war in this campaign Louis had resolved to make a most vigorous effort and to strike home at the Allies. Above all he hoped by the aid of the Elector of Bavaria to make a strong impression on Southern Germany. Nor as will presently be seen was his effort unattended with success. But in the course of the year there were three events, each and that in no slight measure adverse to his arms. In the first place the Duke of Savoy notwithstanding his close family ties with the Courts both of Paris and Madrid forsook their cause. Early in 1703 he entered into secret engagements with the Emperor. For many months longer he continued to dissemble, but his treachery becoming well ascertained at Versailles the Duke of Vendome by order from his Court took measures for suddenly disarming and detaining as prisoners some four thousand Piedmontese soldiers serving in his army, on the frontiers of Tyrol; and Victor Amadeus thereupon declared war against France. Under these circumstances Vendome though at the head of con-

[3] Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 77.

CHAP. III.

siderable forces could achieve nothing of note beyond the Alps.

1703. The second event boding ill to France was an insurrection in Languedoc. There the poor Protestants had for some years past groaned under most cruel persecution. The exercise of their religion was denied them; and if ever they presumed to meet for worship among the bleak hills of the Cevennes they were pitilessly tracked, pursued, and cut down. Scarce any worse persecutors are recorded in history than M. de Baville, Intendant of the Province, and Abbé du Chaila, inspector of the missions, and arch-priest, as he was called, of the Cevennes. The latter among other atrocities was wont to renew upon his prisoners the torments sustained by the early Christians in the reign of Nero when they were smeared with combustibles and set on fire as living torches. In the same spirit, though not to the full perfection of his model, Du Chaila would direct that wool steeped in oil should be tied around the hands of the Protestants whom he succeeded in seizing, and should burn until their fingers were consumed. At last a party of insurgents surprised at Pont de Montvert the house of this ferocious priest who barricaded himself in the upper chambers while the vaults below were thrown open, and some of his maimed victims were seen to issue forth. At this sight the excited multitude heaped wood and kindled it around the house; and it seems as a just retribution of Providence that Du Chaila himself perished in the flames.[4]

Roused to resistance by their wrongs small bands of insurgents began to appear in the hill country of the Cevennes. The bands were at first of no more than

[4] Sismondi, Hist. des Français, vol. xxvi. p. 395. A portrait of Abbé du Chaila appears among the curious Protestant caricatures which were drawn up by the refugees in England, and published in the Mémoires de Maurepas, vol. iii. pp. 328–358, ed. 1792.

forty or fifty men, but they gradually increased both in numbers and in daring. They bore the name of Camisards, and they had for chief Jean Cavalier, once for some months a baker at Geneva, and scarce twenty-two years of age, but of inborn ability and commanding the full respect of his co-mates. Louis found it necessary at the beginning of 1703 to send against them a Mareschal of France, De Montrevel, with some troops that were thus withdrawn from other service. The insurrection continued to linger for many months with varying success; never quite triumphant and never quite subdued. 1703.

A third event of this year unfavourable to the cause of Louis was the accession of the King of Portugal to the Grand Alliance. For some time past the Court of Lisbon had been wavering, but it was fixed at last by the promise of the Emperor that if the Archduke Charles should succeed in establishing his claim to the Spanish monarchy he would cede to Portugal some towns on the several frontiers, as Vigo, Bayona and Badajos, besides the province of Rio de la Plata in America. This promise was reduced to writing in two separate articles of the treaty, but these were to be kept most carefully secret as certain to offend in no slight degree not merely the pride but the patriotism of the Spaniards. With this reserve the treaty between Portugal and the Allied Powers was concluded at Lisbon on the 16th of May. Mr. Methuen our Minister Plenipotentiary signed it on the part of England.[5] "His Most Faithful Majesty" as the King of Portugal was always styled, acknowledged Charles as King of Spain and espoused his cause, agreeing to maintain at his own charge 15,000 men, and to receive subsidies for raising 13,000 more.

[5] Strictly speaking Mr. Methuen did not sign the general treaty with the other Ministers, but a duplicate alone: *vitandæ controversiæ causâ quæ est de loci prærogativâ inter Coronas Britannicam et Lusitanam.* (Collection de Lamberty, vol. ii. p. 508.)

CHAP. III.

Besides these, it was stipulated that 12,000 auxiliary troops should be sent to join his army.

1703. From the terms of this treaty it will be seen how much the design of the Grand Alliance had been widened. It was no longer a mere question of satisfaction to the Emperor in Italy or of security to the Dutch in Flanders. As more Allies came in the pretensions grew. It was now avowed as the final object to substitute the son of Leopold for the son of Louis—to dethrone Philip for the sake of Charles.

The campaign of this year began in Southern Germany. Marshal Villars was again at the head of an army in Alsace eager to gain fresh laurels and to justify his recent promotion. Even in February he crossed the Rhine at Hüningen, misled his old adversary Louis of Baden by a forward movement, and then suddenly wheeling to his left invested Kehl. Still keeping Prince Louis in check he compelled the fortress to surrender after thirteen days of siege. In April as soon as the snows of the Black Forest began to melt, and allow a passage through its rugged defiles, he once more deceived the dull prince opposed to him, gained some marches in advance, and plunged boldly into that mountainous region. With some risk he reached the banks of the Danube at Donau-eschingen; and a few marches further was enabled to join the Bavarian army. The Elector who had been close-pressed by the Imperial forces hailed the approach of his ally with rapturous delight. Villars has himself described the scene: "Although the Elector did not expect me till noon and although the weather was most inclement, he mounted his horse at seven and climbed some heights from which he could discern my line of march. As soon as he saw me draw near, he came up to me full gallop shedding tears of joy and declaring that I had saved his person, his honor, his family and his dominions.

In his eagerness to embrace me he nearly threw me over and nearly himself fell down."[6]

1703.

A wide scope was open to the powerful army thus combined. It might have pressed forward, entered into concert with the insurgents of Hungary, and made the Emperor tremble in his capital. The Elector took a narrower view. He preferred to march with his own troops into the Tyrol, where he reduced Kuffstein and Inspruck and hoped to win the province. But finding the peasantry rise in revolt around him, and learning that the Imperial forces had already entered Bavaria, he relinquished his conquests and rejoined Villars on the Danube. It was owing to the skill and boldness of Villars that the army thus again combined entirely defeated the Imperial general Count Stirum detached by Louis of Baden. This was at Hochstädt on the 20th of September. It was found impossible however for the Elector and the Marshal to agree as to their further movements. A violent dissension had broken out between them; they had grown personal enemies, and Villars apprehensive of disaster solicited recall. His request was granted at Versailles and there was sent in his place the Comte de Marsin, named a Maréchal de France. Even before he arrived the prospects had brightened. A large number of Austrian troops had been called back to repel the more pressing danger in Hungary, so that the French on the Danube and the Lech were enabled to continue their successes, and to co-operate with the Bavarians in the reduction of Augsburg before the close of this campaign.

While Villars was advancing into Germany another French army led by Marshal Tallard had gathered in Alsace; but the month of August came before it could take the field. Then it invested Old Brisach under the experienced eye of Vauban, who in bygone years had

[6] Maréchal de Villars au Roi, 16 Mai 1703. Mémoires militaires de la Succession d'Espagne, vol. iii. p. 583, ed. 1838.

CHAP. III. 1703.

himself fortified the place. Brisach surrendered in the first days of September, and Tallard then turned his arms against Landau. The Allies were eager to relieve this important fortress, their conquest of the previous year, and for that object the Prince of Hesse Cassel was detached from the army in Flanders. He took with him twelve battalions of foot and twenty-four squadrons of horse; and on his march was joined by the General of the Elector Palatine with about an equal number. The combined troops encamped in the vicinity of Spires on the 13th of November. The morning but one after as it chanced was the day of St. Leopold,[7] Leopold it will be remembered being the Emperor's name; and the German officers felt it their duty to go into the city and drink His Majesty's health. No doubt they did full justice to the generous vintage of the Rhine, and some of them at least may have been still engaged in this genial occupation when their camp was suddenly assailed by Marshal Tallard. The Prince of Hesse made a gallant defence, but the result was his entire overthrow with four thousand killed and three thousand prisoners. The French according to their own account suffered very little. "Your Majesty's army"—thus wrote Tallard to King Louis—"has gained in this action more flags and standards than it has lost soldiers."[8] Nor was this all. Landau hopeless of relief capitulated two days later; and thus on the Rhine as on the Danube the warfare closed triumphantly in favor of the French.

Such having been from the outset the aim at the Court of Versailles for this campaign, and Southern Germany being designed to bear the brunt of its attacks, it resolved to maintain in great measure the defensive in the Low Countries. Boufflers and Villeroy,

[7] Not the Emperor's birthday as stated by Tindal (vol. iii. p. 560), for that was the 9th of June. See the "Complete History of Europe for 1703," p. 448.

[8] Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV. vol. i. p. 308, ed. 1752.

CHAP. III.

1703.

the Marshals who commanded the two Corps d'Armée in that region, received orders to avoid engaging in any general action against Marlborough.—Marlborough himself had reached the Hague from England on March the 17th. He found an eager rivalry prevailing for the chief command under him of the Dutch troops. Since last year the Earl of Athlone and the Prince of Saarbrück had been removed by death from the scene, but three Generals were still competing, Overkirk, Slangenberg, and Obdam. It was mainly to the influence of Marlborough that we may ascribe the judicious selection of Overkirk. But he could not prevent Obdam from being appointed to a separate Corps between Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom. Nor yet could he shake himself free from Cohorn, who was to be with him at the main army, to second him as they said, but much more frequently to cavil and to thwart.

An extensive design had been formed by Marlborough for the invasion of French Flanders and the reduction of Antwerp and Ostend. He was confident of success and warmly pressed his scheme upon the States. But he had to make the ever recurring complaints of slowness and irresolution both in themselves and in the Deputies whom they sent out. It is hard to understand such a state of things in the government of such a people—the same people which had achieved a wonderful deliverance from the tenfold might of Spain —the same people whose triumph over the higher level of the surrounding ocean was if possible more wonderful still—the same people whose commercial enterprise and skill had raised to equal terms with the proudest European kingdoms a small slip of country hardly rescued from the waves—the same people which had made itself the asylum and the safeguard of the exiles finding there, what they sought in vain at home, freedom of conscience and of laws—the same people whose courage, energy and hardihood had been signalised on

CHAP. III. 1703.

fields of battle no less than on marts of trade. How are we to explain the fact that all through the Succession War the counsels of this very people were marked by an utter indecision, by a procrastinating slowness which well nigh exhausted the lofty patience of Marlborough and which again and again defeated his most skilful combinations? How are we to conceive the ridiculous reasons or the sorry jests which we find successfully pleaded as excuses for delay? Thus for instance on one occasion when there was a conference at the Hague relative to the Munster troops, Alexander Stanhope who was present as British Minister heard one Deputy declare: CANIS FESTINANS CÆCOS PARIT CATULOS![9]

Day after day did Marlborough urge his project of Antwerp and Ostend. The States answered that there would be risk. But as Marlborough observes at a later period: "If you have a mind to have Antwerp and a speedy end of the war you must venture something for it."[1] At length he partially prevailed. The States reluctantly consented, provided he would first secure them from any possible risk on their Rhenish frontier by reducing Bonn, the fortress and the residence of the Elector of Cologne. Marlborough against his own judgment gave the priority to this siege. He drew his troops from their quarters, left to Overkirk a Corps of observation on the Meuse, and opened the trenches against Bonn on the 3rd of May. He took the fort on the 9th and with a little more time might have not only secured the town but made the garrison prisoners of war. The French however were already making a movement on the Meuse, and Marlborough was so disquieted by it that he deemed it best on the 15th to grant the besieged a capitulation, according to which they marched out with all the honours of war.

[9] Despatch to Sir Charles Hedges, March 2, 1703 (MS.).
[1] To Pensionary Heinsius, July 15, 1703.

CHAP. III.

1703.

The siege of Bonn at this juncture had certainly left leisure for preparation to the French in Flanders. Nevertheless Marlborough was full of hope. Thus he wrote to Godolphin on returning to the Meuse. "I shall to-morrow send an express to the Hague to see how far they have prepared for what I call the great design, so that we may not lose time. . . . If this design of Antwerp can be brought to perfection, I hope we shall make it very uneasy for them to protect Brussels and the rest of their great towns. I am speaking as if we were masters of Antwerp but as yet the two Marshals threaten." [2]

The skilful project of Marlborough was however doomed to be disappointed by the silly precipitation of Obdam, who instead of awaiting his arrival marched forwards at once from Bergen-op-Zoom and took up his position at the village of Eckeren a few miles to the north of Antwerp. Marlborough with his usual sagacity discerned the impending danger. "If" he says to Godolphin "M. Obdam be not upon his guard he may be beat before we can help him." And then in a hasty postscript: "Since I sealed my letter we have a report come from Breda that Obdam is beaten. I pray God it be not so, for he is very capable of having it happen to him." [3]

The report proved only too true; and the circumstances are so extraordinary that they may deserve to be told in the words of the despatch which Alexander Stanhope wrote home on this occasion: "We were all here in great consternation before yesterday at night when about six a courier arrived with letters from Monsieur d'Obdam then at Breda with a lamentable relation how the Marshal de Boufflers with a great detachment from the French main army had on a sudden surrounded him and cut in pieces or defeated

[2] Camp near Maestricht, May 19, 1703.
[3] Camp of Moll, July 2, 1703.

CHAP. III. 1703.

his whole army, desiring the States's orders whether to stay at Breda, or return to the Hague since he had now no army left to command. The States upon this letter met extraordinarily at nine and sat till one next morning to give the best orders to their affairs they could in such an exigency. Mr. Geldermaesen with two other Deputies were immediately sent away with money to try to get together all the scattered DEBRIS of the army if any were left; and luckily the same morning met on their way a courier despatched by Mr. Hop with letters to the States which having commission to open they found things were not so bad as had been represented; on the contrary that our army had beaten Marshal Boufflers though above double the number, taking cannon, standards, and remaining masters of the field. . . . . All here wonder how M. d'Obdam could be so mistaken, but we ought not to censure him till we know what he can say for himself." [4]

The explanations which followed were by no means clear. It appears that General Obdam mistook a column of Frenchmen for a cloud of dust, or a cloud of dust for a column of Frenchmen; that riding onwards to this object he was cut off from his troops; that he left them to their fate; and that he announced their entire destruction when he came in headlong flight to Breda. On the other hand we find that General Slangenberg who succeeded to their command availed himself of the dykes and natural defences of the country so as not indeed to gain a victory as Monsieur Hop had claimed for him but to arrest the current of the defeat. The strangest point in this strange story still remains to tell. Obdam instead of being punished for his negligence was after some time by his private influence restored to his command.

The reverse of Eckeren proved fatal to the "great

[4] To Sir Charles Hedges, Hague, July 3, 1703 (MS.).

design" of Marlborough. He found in consequence of it the scruples of the Dutch Generals and Deputies come back with redoubled force. They declared that the enterprise against Antwerp was too hazardous and the enemy too strong. To add to these embarrassments a violent quarrel having broken out between Cohorn and Slangenberg the former quitted the army in a burst of anger. Marlborough with deep chagrin found it necessary to relinquish his well-concerted and promising scheme. He returned with his army to the Meuse where he besieged and took the small fortress of Huy midway between Liege and Namur. Subsequently he reduced Limburg, while Guelders which had been invested since the spring yielded to that long blockade. Yet taken as a whole the events of this year in the Low Countries were rather to the enemy's advantage. There had been only one action and in that one action the French had been victorious. CHAP. III. 1703.

Moreover, as regarded the prospects of the next campaign the revolt in Hungary was much more than a set off to the revolt in the Cévennes. For a long time past the Hungarians had chafed under the arrogant dominion of the House of Austria. The persecution of the Protestants, the forced levies of men, and the illegal imposition of taxes were especially obnoxious to them. The renewal of the war with France seemed to afford them a favorable opening; and they found a leader in Francis Ragotzky great grandson of the former Prince of Transylvania. Once already—this was in 1701—the young Magnate had attempted to raise his countrymen in arms; he had failed and was thrown into prison, but made his escape to Warsaw. There he carried on a secret correspondence with the disaffected nobles of Hungary; and thence while the Imperial troops were drawn off into Bavaria he suddenly returned. He received some supplies of money and also some officers from France, and passing the Polish frontier appeared on the

CHAP. III.

1703. Carpathian hills at the head of a half-armed and half-savage multitude. But descending into the plains of Hungary he gathered strength as he went on. He was joined by some members of the chief Magyar families, as by Count Caroly, a powerful Magnate, and two nephews of the Palatine, Prince Esterhazy, and he found himself ere long at the head of 20,000 men. Through his adherents the flame of rebellion was extended to Transylvania; and the open country up to the Theiss was overrun. The insurgents who still gained strength took many of the smaller forts and blockaded the Austrian troops in the larger. Even when more Austrian troops had been brought against them from Bavaria they still maintained the upper hand. All through the winter and spring they negotiated as though on equal terms with the Imperial Court, first through Prince Eugene, and at last by the mediation of the Maritime Powers. But their demands gradually augmented until they seemed almost intolerable to the Jesuit-governed Court of Vienna. They required among other things that Ragotzky should be acknowledged as independent Prince of Transylvania; that the Jesuits should be expelled the kingdom; and that the Protestants should be reinstated in four hundred churches.

There was another event of the year which on the contrary gave the Emperor high hopes; this was the undertaking of the King of Portugal to set his army in motion and assert the Archduke Charles as King of Spain. It was felt that the young Prince ought at once to repair to the scene of action and draw his own sword in support of his own pretensions; and this step was warmly pressed by the Maritime Powers; but it was not accomplished without that long procrastination which was then characteristic of the Court of Vienna. At last a public Court being held at Vienna on the 12th of September the Emperor solemnly renounced his claim to the Spanish Crown, as did also his eldest

son the King of the Romans; and the second son was thereupon as the next heir in due form proclaimed Charles the Third King of Spain and the Indies. The young Prince was not yet fully eighteen years of age. Setting out from Vienna a few days afterwards he met Marlborough at Düsseldorf disposing his troops into winter quarters. In company with Marlborough he journeyed on to Holland where he was acknowledged and received with Regal honors. Strange sound to those who bore in mind the history of the two last centuries, to be told that a King of Spain was now upon a visit at the Hague!

CHAPTER IV.

CHAP. IV.

1703.

PARLIAMENT met on the 9th of November; and the Queen in her opening Speech while she announced the accession of the King of Portugal and the Duke of Savoy to the Grand Alliance made known also the less welcome fact that both the King and the Duke would require the aid of subsidies and lead to "a further necessary charge." The House of Commons however showed itself in a complying humour so far as money was concerned; and the public business was proceeding in its customary course when it was broken through by a sudden convulsion of nature. There occurred the most terrible tempest that was ever known in England. For several years afterwards it was mentioned not as A storm but as THE storm.[1]

This hurricane, comparable to the worst in tropical climes, began about eleven o'clock at night on the 26th of November and continued in its full fury till about seven the next morning. Its violence was chiefly felt in the southern parts of the kingdom and the adjoining seas; being far less apparent to the north of Trent. All through that month the weather had been very boisterous, insomuch that the Archduke could not pursue his voyage to London but was detained against his wish on the coasts of Holland. When the stormy

[1] There are several tracts relative to "the Storm" in the Library of the British Museum. Besides the well-known compilation of Defoe and the letters in the 24th volume of the Philosophical Transactions I have mainly consulted "An exact relation of the late dreadful tempest faithfully collected by an ingenious hand," London, 1704, and "An historical narrative of the great and tremendous storm," London, 1769.

wind arose upon the 26th it blew from the South West, and was so high that between the gusts it sounded like thunder in the distance. Of real thunder and lightning there was none, but in some places the air was full of meteoric flashes which resembled the latter. In general however the darkness added to the terror, for it was just New Moon.

The palaces of England, both Royal or Episcopal, had their share in the general calamity. A narrative of the time informs us that "part of the palace of St. James's was blown down; and a woman killed by the fall of a chimney. Her Majesty was alarmed and got up with His Highness the Prince and all the Maids of Honour." —At Wells the Bishop of the Diocese and his wife Mrs. Kidder were killed as they lay in bed by the fall of a stack of chimneys. He was a prelate held in high esteem, eminent for his knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic.

In humbler life the casualties were numerous and terrible. Many persons were crushed in their beds; while others who had taken alarm and run out into the streets or gardens were struck dead by the fall of bricks and tiles. Many more were maimed or severely bruised. At the same time there were instances of marvellous escape or deliverance. Thus in the case of Mr. Hanson, Register of Eton College, who was in London and sleeping in a garret near Ludgate Hill, the roof being blown down he was carried to the ground without any hurt, and as he declared knew nothing of the storm till he found himself lying on his bed in the open street. Thus also in Aldersgate Street a man and a woman were forced into a cellar by the fall of a chimney, and as it seemed buried alive. Being however extricated about eight o'clock the next morning it was worthy of note that the first question the man asked was respecting his clothes which he had left in the next room with fifty shillings in a pocket. The

CHAP. IV.

1703.

woman on her part demanded what was become of her trunk in which were some pieces of gold; neither expressing any gratitude to either God or man for their timely deliverance.

The Thames also became an agent in the metropolitan havoc. The tide rushed up with great violence flowing even into Westminster Hall, and flooding the lower parts of the city, while London Bridge was almost choked up by the wrecks. Many barges and boats were submerged or dashed together and several persons drowned. At Bristol in like manner the Avon rose; and the tide was so high in the streets that the people had to pass over in boats. Hogsheads of tobacco and other goods were floating about the city; and the damage in Bristol alone was computed at £150,000. In other towns there was equal havoc. "Portsmouth" says a writer of the time "looks like a city bombarded by the enemy."

Many great buildings were shattered, and some subverted, by the fury of the blast. In several churches the spire was beaten off the steeple; and the lead upon the roofs rolled up like a scroll of parchment. The Chapel of King's College at Cambridge, one of the noblest fabrics not in England merely but in the world, lost many of its pinnacles; and had some of its painted glass dashed in. The Eddystone Lighthouse, only three years since completed on a new plan by Mr. Winstanley, was severed into fragments and swept into the sea; and among the three men drowned on that occasion was the ingenious projector himself, then as it chanced upon a visit to his work. It had been built not of stone but of timber; and judging from the designs of it that remain, it resembled in some degree a Chinese Pagoda.[2]

The trees also were in large numbers uprooted or

[2] Smiles's Lives of the Engineers, vol. ii. p. 19.

torn asunder. Through the ancestral parks of Southern England, and its richly wooded glades—as the Chace of Cranbourn or the Forest of Dean—the ground was strewn with prostrate trunks and severed branches. In London we find especially commemorated the loss of above an hundred elm trees in St. James's Park, several of large growth and planted it was said by Cardinal Wolsey; and some also in Moorfields of still greater size, being about three yards in girth. Defoe states that he was induced from curiosity to make a circuit on horseback over most part of Kent, and to count as he rode the fallen trees. He counted up to 17,000 and then being weary desisted.

On the coasts the shipping also suffered severely. The main fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel rode safe upon its anchors; but several of the smaller men-of-war and many merchantmen foundered at sea or went to pieces on the Goodwins and other shoals. Particular commiseration was excited by the fate of the Mary, a sixty-four gun ship having on board Admiral Basil Beaumont of the family of the present Lords Hotham. This vessel perished in full view—though perhaps only by glasses—of the town of Deal; the Admiral using all possible means to save his men's lives and his own. He stood on the deck and to encourage the people to venture out to him he showed plate and money by holding it on high. But in vain. Intrepid as the Deal boatmen were and are none of them would offer to put out in such a sea. The Admiral was drowned and with him his whole crew of 269 except only one single sailor who was cast by a wave to shore.

There seems some reason to suspect that in compiling the Bills of Mortality or other official accounts for London an endeavour was made to lessen the public consternation by keeping out of sight as many fatal accidents as possible. Nevertheless we find it stated that taking all throughout the country one hundred and

CHAP. IV. 1703.

twenty-three persons were struck down and killed. The number of men lost, including those on the coast of Holland, those in ships blown away and never again heard of, and those drowned in the floods of the Severn and the Thames, could not of course be accurately ascertained, but has been computed to exceed 8,000. Above 800 houses were blown down, in most of which the inmates received some bruise or wound. Above 400 windmills were overset and broken to pieces. Great numbers of cattle were swept away from the river-banks; 7,000 sheep on a single level of the Severn.

In view of this dire calamity the House of Commons presented an Address to the Queen lamenting the diminution of the Royal Navy, and beseeching Her Majesty to give orders for building some new ships. The Queen's answer was in suitable terms; and two or three days later she issued a Proclamation for a General Fast which was observed throughout England with great signs of devotion and sincerity on the 19th of January following. Lord Macaulay has noticed that no other tempest was ever in this country the occasion of a Parliamentary Address or of a Public Fast.[3]

Besides the promise of funds which was implied in the Address to build some "capital ships" as the Address had termed them, the Commons cheerfully voted not only as before 40,000 men to act in conjunction with the Allies, but 10,000 augmentation for the next campaign, and a further force of 8,000 designed to serve in Portugal and Spain. For these, for guards and garrisons, and for payments to the Allies the total sum of £1,800,000 was granted, and the vote for seamen was of 40,000 including 5,000 marines.

The House of Commons was in truth at this time much less intent on finance than on theology; so far at

[3] Essay on Addison first published in the Edinburgh Review for July 1843, p. 218.

least as theology is concerned in the treatment of Dissenters. The flame upon the question of Occasional Conformity had been kept alive by the heats which prevailed between the two Houses of Convocation. To this period may be ascribed the origin of those by-words of High Church and Low Church which have ever since, though under very various phases, divided the Church of England.[4] Both these parties as they existed among the clergy of Queen Anne's reign were espoused by men of eminent ability. If the Upper House of Convocation could boast of its Bishop Burnet the Lower House had its Dean Atterbury. But neither party if tried by our present notions could claim the praise of superior toleration. For while the High Church clergy desired a stern repression of the Protestant Dissenters, the Low Church clergy were eager to smite the Roman Catholics, hip and thigh. The only point on which with some few eminent exceptions they cordially agreed was in denouncing all moderate counsels, which they called latitudinarian and carnal.

The Tory politicians incited at this time by the High Church Divines came to Parliament in November 1703 fully resolved to aim another blow at the Occasional Conformists. But they no longer found the same support from the Queen or the Queen's Government. Marlborough and Godolphin had discerned the deep offence caused by the measure of the preceding year. They felt moreover in proportion as their differences with Nottingham and Jersey grew wider that they might have to rely in some degree at least on Whig votes; and they felt reluctant to take a course more than any other distasteful to Whig leaders. Therefore without as yet breaking away from their High Tory adherents they did their utmost to dissuade

[4] Tindal's History, vol. iii. p. 481.

CHAP. IV. 1703.

them. By their advice the Queen in her opening Speech expressed her earnest desire to see all her subjects in perfect peace and union among themselves; and these words were clearly understood as conveying the Royal wish that the Dissenters might not at this juncture be again assailed.

Nevertheless the High Tories persevered. Within a few days of the opening of the Session they brought in once more with only some slight modifications their favourite Occasional Conformity Bill. The debate upon this subject as nearly all others of that period has passed by unreported. Only one speech here remains to us; no doubt through the obliging care of the orator himself. This was Sir John Packington of Westwood Park in Worcestershire, a cross-grained and conceited politician. One passage of his speech will serve to show with how little respect the heads of the Church were sometimes treated by those who claimed to be exclusively its friends: "I did wonder last year to hear so many Bishops against this Bill but that wonder ceased when I considered to whom they owed their preferment. The Archbishop of Canterbury I think was promoted to that See by my Lord Sunderland's interest; and being asked what reasons he had against this Bill replied he had not well considered the Bill, but that my Lord Sunderland told him it ought not to pass. This was a very weighty reason for the head of our Church to give; and yet I dare say none of the rest of them could give a better."[5]

The Bill being thus urged forward in the Commons received the sullen support of the Ministers; and it passed the House by 223 against 140. In the Lords Godolphin and Marlborough also gave their votes in its favor, although the first acknowledged in his speech that he thought the time unseasonable. The Queen's

[5] Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 154.

secret inclination was still in favor of the Bill. But to gratify her "dearest Mrs. Freeman" she determined to mark some change of sentiment by sanctioning the absence from the House of her Royal Consort. That illustrious Occasional Conformist was no longer required to vote against Occasional Conformity. Some other Peers who had voted for the Bill last year likewise staid away from the House. The Bishops were almost equally divided, but the speech of Burnet—soon afterwards printed by himself at the desire of his friends—excited particular attention. "I myself" he said "was an Occasional Conformist in Geneva and Holland. I thought their Churches were irregularly formed and with great defects in their constitution; yet I thought communion with them was lawful, for their worship was not corrupted. But at the same time I continued my communion with our own Church, according to the Liturgy of this Church, with all that came about me." Finally the Bill was rejected on the Second Reading by, including proxies, 71 against 59. Godolphin and Marlborough, very little to their credit under all the circumstances, endeavoured to gratify their friends by signing a Protest against its rejection.

It was the ill humour of the Commons resulting from the loss of their cherished Bill that was at the root of the serious differences which soon afterwards sprung up between the two Houses, first on the Scottish Plot and secondly on the Aylesbury Case. Both of these shall be presently detailed.

In the last days of this year was concluded at Lisbon the Methuen Treaty, as it has been termed from Mr. John Methuen who signed it on the part of England. There were only two articles. By the first the King Don Pedro agreed to admit into Portugal the woollen manufactures of England. By the second Queen Anne engaged to grant a differential duty in favor of the wines of Portugal, so that the duties on these wines

CHAP. IV. 1703.

should always be less by one third than those on the wines of France. Many Portuguese proprietors it is said consequently increased their culture of the vine;[6] and the treaty produced no less effect on the taste for wine in England. Till 1703 and even for some years beyond it, Burgundy whenever it could be obtained appears to have been the favourite wine.[7] But the Methuen Treaty in its gradual influence gave to Port it may be said the supremacy for above an hundred years.

On the 28th of December the titular King of Spain having at last arrived from Holland disembarked at Portsmouth. He was received with Regal honours by the Dukes of Somerset and Marlborough and conducted in state to Petworth where he slept that night. Next day pursuing his journey he stopped to dine at Guildford and reached Windsor Castle in the evening. The ceremonies at Queen Anne's Court differed much in some respects from those at Queen Victoria's. We are told how "the Marquess of Hartington, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, received the King at his alighting out of the coach; and the Earl of Jersey, Lord Chamberlain, lighted him to the great staircase. Her Majesty received the King at the top of the great staircase, without the guard-room, where His Majesty made a very low bow; and the Queen raising him up he saluted her, and made his compliment to Her Majesty, acknowledging his great obligations for her generous protection and assistance. After which Her Majesty gave him her hand and he led her into her bed-chamber. After a little stay there His Royal Highness (the Prince) conducted his Catholic Majesty to the apartment prepared for him, where having

[6] Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 729, ed. 1805.

[7] Burgundy is mentioned as highly relished in Farquhar's comedy, The Inconstant (act v. scene 2), and in Swift's Journal to Stella, so far at least as Lord Peterborough and Secretary St. John, no mean judges, were concerned (Feb. 18, 1711).

remained some time he returned to the presence-chamber and saluted several ladies presented to him by the Queen; and soon after handed Her Majesty to supper which was very magnificent, with extremely fine music played all the while." Next evening at supper we further read that the King "would not be satisfied till after great compliments he had prevailed with the Duchess of Marlborough to give him the napkin which he held to Her Majesty when she washed." [8] 1703.

On the morning which ensued the Archduke—for so judging by the fortunes of the war we may now prefer to call him—took leave of the Queen and set off on his return to Portsmouth, desiring to reembark and reach Lisbon as soon as possible. With him were to proceed about 8,000 English and 4,000 Dutch troops, the former headed by the Duke of Schomberg while Sir George Rooke was in command of the fleet. But the expedition was detained week after week by contrary winds, and when at last it did put to sea and had made some progress in the Channel it was driven back by a violent tempest. Finally it was not till the 8th of March New Style that Charles cast anchor in the Tagus. When we remember that the Treaty with Portugal acknowledging his claims and requiring his presence had been signed ten months before we cannot ascribe these most ill-timed delays in arriving at his destination solely to the weather, but must allow a large share to the procrastinating temper at that time of the Austrian Princes. Certain it is that the storms which prevailed in the month of January did not prevent the Duke of Marlborough from crossing the sea and repairing for a few days to the Hague, there to concert the measures for the next campaign. 1704.

We may now revert to the proceedings in Parlia-

[8] Complete History of Europe for 1703, p. 484.

CHAP. IV. 1704.

ment, and first as they bore upon that tangled mass of baseness, called in England the Scottish Plot, and in Scotland the Queensberry Plot. In March 1703 the Queen had granted through the Scottish Privy Council a general indemnity to all Scotsmen for political offences, to those at least who would promptly accept it and qualify themselves by taking the Oaths. It was an humane and a politic measure, yet it came to excite some disquietude in the minds of its framers. It was found that many persons returned to Scotland under colour of this protection who were believed to have in no degree renounced their Jacobite politics. Such were for example Robertson of Strowan and David Lindsay who had acted as Secretary to Lord Melfort the Pretender's Minister. It was feared therefore that they had come over for the purpose of some rebellious movement, and this apprehension was increased by rumours which reached the Government from other quarters. Alexander Stanhope wrote from the Hague that, as was there believed, a considerable sum in gold had been transmitted to Scotland through a commercial house of Amsterdam. There was no doubt the standing conspiracy of the Jacobites always corresponding and caballing and with their agents going to and fro; but it is difficult to believe that they had seriously in view a rising at this particular time.

Among the turbulent spirits who now reappeared north of Tweed was Simon Fraser of Beaufort, better known in subsequent years as Lord Lovat, one of the most unprincipled men in that far from scrupulous age. He had been convicted and outlawed on a heinous charge in private life brought against him by Lord Athol; and he now came back to Scotland with a full determination to push his fortunes and with an entire indifference as to the means. He obtained an interview with the Duke of Queensberry, to whom in the character of a deeply penitent Jacobite and no

doubt with abundance of sobs and tears, he revealed a real or pretended plot for raising the Highlands. He had brought with him he said, while still in the meshes of evil, a secret communication from the Court of St. Germain's to Lord Athol who was then Keeper of the Privy Seal in Scotland. Accordingly he produced a letter expressed only in general terms and signed only with one initial by the Queen Dowager. It had no address and was believed to have been intended for the Duke of Gordon, but Fraser had taken the liberty of writing on the blank cover the address of his old enemy the Marquess of Athol.

Queensberry with much eagerness swallowed the bait which Fraser here set before him. He had conceived a jealousy of Athol as one of his colleagues in the government of Scotland and he hoped by this device to rid himself of his rival. Accordingly he transmitted to the Queen an account of the supposed conspiracy as though the proof against Athol were certain and complete. But Athol having obtained a clue to these secret machinations was enabled to explain himself and to prove his entire innocence. Both sides turned angrily round on Fraser as the author of the whole; and Fraser secured his own safety by a precipitate retreat to France. David Baillie who had taken part against Queensberry in another phase of the same transaction was not so fortunate. Early in 1704 he was brought to trial before the Privy Council at Edinburgh on a charge of defamation or "leasing-making" as it is termed in Scottish law. Being found Guilty the sentence against him was that he should stand in the Pillory at the Tron, and be transported to the West Indies; but of this sentence the first part only came to be enforced.[9]

[9] The proceedings against David Baillie, now of very little interest, are elucidated in Lockhart's Memoirs (vol. i. p. 83), and given at full length in Howell's State Trials (vol. xiv. p. 1035, &c.).

CHAP. IV. 1704.

Meanwhile there had been some arrests. Sir John Maclean, one of the Highland chiefs and up to that time an undoubted Stuart partisan, was taken on disembarking from an open boat at Folkestone. He protested that his object was only to pass through England on his way to claim the Indemnity in Scotland, while the friends of the Government contended that he would never have exposed himself to risk by touching English ground at all had there not been some conspiracy to serve. Other men of little note were seized about the same time on the coast of Sussex. Upon the whole the evidence of a Scottish plot was but slight and inconclusive; it was however announced in the most solemn form to the English Parliament. On the 17th of December 1703 the Queen went in person to the House of Peers, and after giving her Assent to the Land Tax Bill for 1704 made a speech declaring that she had "unquestionable information of very ill practices and designs carried on in Scotland," and promising to lay the particulars before both Houses.

The House of Lords in its Whig zeal, and as though seeking to outrun the Tory Government, at once appointed a Select Committee to examine the prisoners, and especially Sir John Maclean. It was however intimated to the House by the Lord Steward that Her Majesty thought the examination of Sir John Maclean a matter of too much nicety and importance to be taken out of its ordinary course or removed from the officers of the Crown. The House of Lords acquiesced, and there the whole matter might have ended, but that the Tory Commons deemed the occasion favourable for striking a blow at the Whig Peers. They carried an Address to the Queen complaining that "the Lords in violation of the known laws of the land have wrested the persons in custody out of your Majesty's hands, and without your Majesty's leave or knowledge." The Peers retorted by another Address in which they spoke as

follows: "The expressions in the Address of the House of Commons are so very harsh and indecent that we may truly affirm the like were never used of the House of Peers in any age, not even by that assembly which under the name of the House of Commons took upon itself not only to abolish the House of Lords but to destroy the monarchy." Such were the compliments interchanged between the Houses through the remainder of the Session. Such was the altercation that prevailed even long after the subject-matter of altercation had been by common consent relinquished and set aside.

Not far unlike in its result though wholly different in its origin was the celebrated Aylesbury case. There had been for many years past complaints of gross corruption at the Aylesbury elections. It was alleged that the four Constables who were the returning officers for the borough were wont to make a bargain with some of the candidates, and then to manage matters so that the majority should be for the persons to whom they had engaged themselves. At the last election they had refused the vote of Matthew Ashby, a burgess who had been admitted to poll on former occasions. For this Ashby brought an Action against William White and the other Constables. The Action was tried in due course at the County Assizes when the Jury gave a verdict for the Plaintiff with costs.

It was moved however in the Court of Queen's Bench to quash these proceedings. Three Judges, here directly opposed by Chief Justice Holt, were of opinion that no hurt was done to Ashby, and that decisions on the right to vote belonged to the House of Commons. The order of the Queen's Bench was therefore in favour of the Constables. But the question was next brought by Writ of Error before the House of Lords, where it was decided by a large majority to set aside the order of the Queen's Bench, and to give judgment according to the verdict at the Assizes.

CHAP. IV.

1704.

The Commons upon this took fire. They passed a string of Resolutions declaring that the qualification of any elector was cognisable only by themselves, and that Ashby in commencing his action had been guilty of a breach of Privilege. The Lords rĕtorted by some well-drawn counter-Resolutions. They maintained: That by the known laws of this kingdom every person having a right to give his vote, and being wilfully denied by the officer who ought to receive it, may maintain an action against such officer to recover damage for the injury: and That the contrary assertion is destructive of the property of the subject and tends to encourage partiality and corruption in returning officers.—Since that time the ablest writers who have discussed this question give their judgment in favor of the House of Lords. Mr. Hallam above all contends that while the House of Commons had ăn undoubted right of determining all disputed returns to the Writ of Election, and consequently of judging upon the right of every vote, there was no pretext of reason or analogy for denying that this right to vote like any other franchise might also come in an indirect manner at least before a Court of Justice, and be judged by the common principles of law.[1]

It is pleasing to turn from the petty brawls between the Houses to a noble act of beneficence on the part of the Queen. Her Majesty's birthday, which was the 6th of February, falling this year on a Sunday its celebration had been postponed till the next day. On that day then as well beseeming her pious and princely gift Sir Charles Hedges as Secretary of State brought down to the House of Commons a message from the Queen, importing that Her Majesty desired to make a grant of her whole revenue arising out of the First Fruits and Tenths for the benefit of the poorer clergy. These First

[1] Constit. History of England, vol. iii. p. 274, ed. 1855.

Fruits and Tenths had been imposed by the Popes some centuries ago for the support of the Holy Wars but had been maintained long after those wars had ceased. The broad besom of Henry the Eighth had swept them from the Papal to the Royal treasury; and there they continued to flow. In the days of Charles the Second they had been regarded as an excellent fund out of which to provide for the female favourites of His Majesty and their numerous children. Under William and Mary Bishop Burnet as he says often pressed this question on the Queen, and wrought so successfully with her that she had determined if she had lived to see a peace to clear this revenue of all the charges which had been cast upon it, and apply it to the augmentation of small benefices. The Bishop had also half persuaded King William and laid the matter very fully before the Princess Anne. It was natural therefore that the Bishop should ascribe to himself no small share in the merit of the subsequent grant.[2] He intimates not very graciously that perhaps the time for it was chosen to pacify the angry clergy who resented the loss of their Occasional Conformity Bill. They had now begun, he says, to talk of the danger the Church was in, as much as they had done during the former reign.

Upon the Queen's Message the Commons returned a suitable Address, and proceeded to pass a Bill enabling Her Majesty to alienate this branch of the revenue, and to create a corporation by charter to apply it for the object she desired. But the Commons went further still. They added a clause to the Bill repealing in its favour a part of the Statute of Mortmain—that it might henceforth be free to any man to give what he thought fit either by deed or will towards the augmenting of

[2] See his rather boastful account in the History of his own Times, vol. v. p. 118–123. A summary of Queen Anne's regulations as modified by some later Statutes is given in Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, Phillimore's edition, vol. ii. p. 283–295.

CHAP. IV. 1704.

benefices. But this clause so readily passed by the Commons gave rise to great debate in the Peers. "It seems not reasonable" said some of their Lordships "to open a door to practices upon dying men." The Bishops however who had been so much divided on the Occasional Conformity question, united as one man upon this measure, which by their strenuous aid was now carried and passed into law. This fund has ever since and with good reason borne the name of "Queen Anne's Bounty." Its application has been extended to the building of parsonage-houses as well as to the increase of poor livings; but in one form or the other it has fulfilled the kindly purpose of its founder and rendered most signal service to the Church.

The Session was closed by the Queen on the 3rd of April; and Marlborough set out for Holland on the 8th. But the strife of parties continued among his colleagues at home. Nottingham especially had for many months past shown himself most disputatious and wrangling. Thus for instance when during the last year the Protestants in the Cevennes had risen in revolt against the intolerable tyranny of their bigoted rulers, and when Marlborough in his letters was pressing on military grounds that some prompt aid might be afforded them, Nottingham demurred. He had expatiated in Council on the injustice and impolicy of assisting rebel subjects against their legitimate Sovereign.[3] Such doctrines of passive obedience appear inconceivable at the Court of St. James's in 1703, resting as it then did on the Revolution settlement; they could only be expected at the Court of St. Germain's.

The stubborn resistance of Nottingham had not hindered the Government from sending a combined fleet, English and Dutch, on a summer cruise to the Mediterranean. The English ships were commanded by Sir

[3] Coxe's Marlborough, vol. i. p. 235.

Cloudesley Shovel; supplies of arms and ammunitions had been put on board; and they had been instructed by all means in their power to support the insurrection if it should leave the hills and extend along the coast.

Nottingham however was not discouraged from renewing his opposition to his colleagues on many subsequent occasions. He had the support of several men in high places, as the Earl of Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour, and he could reckon on the good wishes at least of a majority in the House of Commons. Before the close of the Session in April 1704 he addressed himself to Godolphin, declaring that he must retire from office unless the administration were cleared of the remaining Whigs. Finding his representations unheeded he paused until Marlborough had set out for Holland and then thinking the occasion opportune appealed directly to the Queen. He pressed Her Majesty to choose one of the two parties and abide by that choice. If she chose the Whigs he and his friends would at once retire. If she continued to abide by the Tories he must then insist that the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire be removed from the Privy Council.

The Queen's own views of politics nearly coincided with Nottingham's, but her pride was aroused by his peremptory tone. After some wavering she reverted to Godolphin and by his advice determined to deal sharply with the malcontents. She sent a message to Lord Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour dismissing them from office; and Nottingham who had still hoped to maintain his position then sullenly resigned.

The secession of Nottingham had for some time past been foreseen by Marlborough as probably impending, and it had been often discussed between himself and the Lord Treasurer. They both desired that although there might be some change as to persons the Tory party should still form the basis of their administration.

CHAP. IV.

1704.

With this view Marlborough had fixed his thoughts on Robert Harley, then Speaker and a personal friend of his own, to succeed Nottingham as Secretary of State. Harley received the offer accordingly. He showed some reluctance, real or pretended, to exchange his more fixed position for the uncertainties of Ministerial life, but he finally yielded. On the 18th of May the Gazette announced his acceptance of the Seals.

Harley like Nottingham was a Tory in politics though by no means so extreme. In every other respect the contrast of their characters was unfavourable to him. Nottingham was an austere and upright man, always avowing his principles and always acting up to them. His enemies nicknamed him "Dismal"; from his tendency to make sad and desponding predictions of public affairs—a tendency which in England is often accepted as a proof of superior wisdom. Harley on the other hand endeavoured to keep well both with Churchmen and Dissenters, and while professing close friendship with the Tory malcontents was in the habit of disclosing their secrets to Marlborough and Godolphin. Thus at this juncture writes Godolphin to the Duchess: "The Speaker is very industrious and has found out things two or three several ways, which may chance to make some of them (the hot angry people) uneasy."

Some other appointments followed. Sir Thomas Mansell who ranked as an ardent Tory took the place of Seymour. The Earl of Kent who ranked as a moderate Whig took the place of Jersey. Blathwayte the Secretary at War, a man of very slight note in politics, was removed from his office in favour of Henry St. John, better known in subsequent years as Viscount Bolingbroke. Since 1700 St. John had been returned to Parliament by his Wiltshire neighbours at Wotton Basset; he had espoused with warmth the Tory side; and he had already signalised his splendid talents by speeches of which unhappily no record now remains.

CHAP. IV. 1704.

The successes of the French in the last campaign excited serious apprehension for that which was about to commence. No man had been so mortified as Marlborough. No man had seen more clearly how far the common cause, to say nothing of his own renown, was imperilled by the constant clashing of petty interests, by the innumerable scruples and delays with which his Allies entangled him. Such were his feelings of despondency at the close of the preceding summer that he had formed the secret resolution of resigning his command.[4] He had been dissuaded only by the entreaties of Godolphin in London and of Heinsius at the Hague. During his next visit to Holland in February 1704 the prospect had not brightened, and we find him write as follows to Godolphin: "For this campaign I see so very ill a prospect that I am extremely out of heart. But God's will be done; and I must be for this year very uneasy, for in all the other campaigns I had an opinion of being able to do something for the common cause, but in this I have no other hopes than that some lucky accident may enable me to do good."—But Marlborough even in his sorest trials was serene as ever in his aspect and demeanour. With an undaunted spirit he was now applying all the resources of his genius to face and overcome the obstacles that lay before him.

The general result of the last campaign was in equal degree inspiriting to Louis the Fourteenth. That sagacious and experienced monarch directing everything in person from his cabinet at Versailles showed himself in his warlike preparations no unworthy rival of Marlborough and Eugene. Through the winter he used every exertion to recruit and supply his troops; and he resolved to have on foot in the coming summer

[4] See especially his letters to Godolphin from the Hague of October 19 and 22, 1703, Old Style.

CHAP. IV. 1704.

no less than eight separate armies. With one under the Duke of Berwick he hoped to chastise the King of Portugal; with a second under the Duke of Vendome to chastise the Duke of Savoy. Both these princes—so he expected—would have deeply to rue the hour when they had presumed to declare against LE GRAND MONARQUE. The Duke of Savoy was to be further threatened by an army on the frontiers of Dauphiny under the Duke de la Feuillade, and another in Lombardy under M. Le Grand Prieur the brother of Vendome. The Maréchal de Villars with a large body of troops was stationed to repress the revolt in the Cevennes. The Maréchal de Villeroy was named to command the army in Flanders, but with orders to remain on the defensive, since the principal effort to decide the war was designed in another quarter.[5]

That quarter was Bavaria. The Elector had been able in the preceding year not only to maintain but to extend the sphere of his dominion. The Maréchal de Marsin and his army had wintered with him; and it was now intended that another French army, which we may number as the eighth, should under the Maréchal de Tallard cross the Rhine and march to his assistance. The Elector and the two Marshals would thus combine a force very far superior to any the Emperor could hope to bring against them. While they confronted His Imperial Majesty he would be taken in the rear by Ragotsky and the Hungarian insurgents; and thus supported the French might fairly expect to dictate to him a separate peace involving the dissolution of the Empire beneath—perhaps even within—the ramparts of Vienna. The two Maritime Powers would then be left alone to sustain the brunt of the conflict. Holland, considering the timid counsels which then prevailed at

[5] On these French preparations and equipments see the Mémoires Militaires, de la Succession d'Espagne, vol. iv. p. 371.

the Hague, would in all probability accept almost any terms, and England would then be reduced to that defensive or naval warfare so much admired by Nottingham and his High Tory friends.

The preliminary steps to this great result were all taken. In the course of May Marshal Tallard entered the defiles of the Black Forest, leading about 15,000 troops as reinforcements to the Elector whom he met at Villingen. He then returned to the Rhine where he had still about 30,000 men, and was able to make head against Prince Louis of Baden. On the other hand the insurgents in Hungary resumed hostilities, and reduced some more of the Imperial garrisons, sending forward also a considerable body commanded by Karoly, in the direction of Vienna. So great in June was the terror of that capital that many of the citizens prepared to retire, and that the King of the Romans threw up works to defend the suburbs.[6]

It was then that Marlborough gradually disclosed the plan which he had formed for the rescue of the common cause. Bearing in mind the circumstances of the time and people his plan was singularly daring—so daring indeed that he could not venture to unfold it completely and at once to any of the chiefs combined with him except in secret letters to Prince Eugene alone.

The plan of Marlborough shortly stated was to march forward at the head of all the troops that could be spared from the defence of Holland; to leave the enemy's fortresses in his rear, while moving into Germany; and to give battle to the French upon the Danube. Even to Godolphin as to the Queen and Prince it appears that in the first instance he communicated merely a part of his design; but he caused his instructions to be drawn in general terms so as to leave him the required latitude. When he came to the

[6] Coxe's House of Austria, vol. i. p. 1142, 4to ed.

CHAP. IV. 1704.

Hague he laid before the States only the much humbler project of a campaign on the Moselle as was desired by Louis of Baden. Even this greatly reduced scheme seemed to the States very far too bold. They opposed it with the utmost vehemence, not desiring that even a single soldier should be withdrawn from their immediate defence.

Marlborough however was firm; and at last declared that if even the Dutch troops were not allowed to follow him he would proceed with the English alone. At the same time he imparted his real project to Godolphin. Thus he writes on April 29: "By the next post I shall be able to let you know what resolutions I shall bring these people to; for I have told them that I will leave this place on Saturday. My intentions are to march all the English to Coblentz; and to declare here that I intend to command on the Moselle; but when I come there to write to the States that I think it absolutely necessary for serving the Empire to march with the troops under my command, and to join those in Germany that are in Her Majesty's and the Dutch pay. . . . The army I propose to have there will consist of upwards of 40,000 men. . . . What I now write I beg may be known to nobody but Her Majesty and the Prince."

The firmness of Marlborough, aided as usual by the friendship of Heinsius, at length prevailed. In a formal conference with the States on the 4th of May he obtained from them sufficient powers for the campaign on the Moselle—powers which he saw might be extended beyond what they then designed. But although the opposition of the Dutch was overcome their repugnance still remained. Of this we may judge by a despatch as follows from Mr. Alexander Stanhope: "The Duke has sent away already all his equipage, and will post himself in three days directly to Coblentz; and whither

afterwards you will know from himself better than I can inform you. Only this I can tell you, that the design he goes on is much against the grain of the people here, who never think themselves safe at home without a superiority of 40,000 men, and never dare think of hazarding any thing to make an acquisition upon their enemies."[7]

It is not to be supposed that the timidity of the Dutch States was the only obstacle against which Marlborough had to strive. In a confederacy that ranked together so many members great and small, there was scarce upon the Continent one General Officer, there was scarce one petty prince, who did not put forward some selfish and undue pretensions. Thus for instance at this very juncture there arose a personal dispute between Marlborough's brother General Churchill and the Dutch General Overkirk—a question of course far more important than the successful prosecution of the war! Thus again—to give only one example out of many—the Sovereign of Prussia deemed it most consistent with his dignity as a new-made King to keep back his regiments of Guards—all excellent troops—from active service, and employ them to escort himself in solemn state whenever he went from Berlin to Potsdam or from Potsdam back again to Berlin. Thus writes Lord Raby, the English Envoy: "Revolutions happen daily in the councils of our little Court, for what is advised one day and agreed on by one party of councillors is obstructed and altered the next day by another party; each being willing to insinuate themselves with their master and to make him believe they seek nothing but his grandeur. For now they have persuaded him not to let his Guards march, for it is neither safe nor great for a Prince to be without a great number of Guards. I am very sorry

[7] Hon. A. Stanhope to Sir Charles Hedges, May 2, 1704 (MS.).

CHAP. IV.

of this resolution because they were indeed very fine troops."[8]

1704. All such obstacles were met, and for the most part overcome, by Marlborough, with his usual patience, with his usual skill. This is the more remarkable since we find him at this very juncture a prey to domestic chagrin. The shrewish temper of his Duchess had inflicted upon him a quarrel on his leaving England. Now at last after some weeks she wrote to him in relenting terms, and Marlborough in his answer can scarce restrain the transports of his joy. "If you will give me leave it will be a great pleasure to me to have it in my power to read this dear dear letter often and that it may be found in my strong-box when I am dead. . . . You have by this kindness preserved my quiet, and I believe my life, for till I had this letter I have been very indifferent what should become of myself."

Marlborough wrote this letter from the Hague on the 5th of May, and on the evening of the same day he set out to join the army. From Bonn he led his troops to Coblentz and from Coblentz still along the Rhine to Mayence. On his route he received intelligence of the 15,000 French led by Tallard to the further aid of the Elector of Bavaria; and this afforded him a new argument to justify his own march to the Danube. Hitherto his project had been kept a profound secret both from friends and foes. The French especially had been at a loss to guess what he might design. When at Coblentz he was thought to have in view a campaign on the Moselle; when at Mayence, an attack on Alsace. It was only on leaving Mayence that his real object was disclosed by his passage of the Neckar and his advance through the Duchy of Wurtemberg. It is due to the Dutch politicians as well as to the Dutch Generals to

[8] Lord Raby to the Hon. A. Stanhope, Berlin, March 4, 1704 (MS.).

record, that when Marlborough had apprised them of his plan by letter they seeing that its execution was inevitable waived their objections, and did their best to forward its success. The States of Holland sent him as he asked reinforcements instead of reproaches.

Pursuing his march to Mundelsheim the Duke there found Prince Eugene who came across from his own army to see him. It was the first time that these two renowned commanders ever met; and they remained together three days while the troops were either resting or reviewed.—Prince Eugene of Savoy born at Paris in 1663 was thirteen years younger than Marlborough, yet had already seen as much of active service. In a happy hour for the Court of Vienna he was refused the commission which he had at his outset solicited in the French service; and taking the other part he became probably the greatest General who has ever in any age led the Austrian armies. The position of Eugene in this station was certainly singular. He was an Italian by descent, a Frenchman by training, and a German by adoption; and in his usual signature of three words he was wont as we are told to combine not less strangely the three languages, EUGENIO VON SAVOYE.[9]

Marlborough from the first was greatly prepossessed in his favour. "Prince Eugene"—so he writes to the Duchess—"was with me from Monday till Friday (the 10th to the 14th of June) and has in his conversation a great deal of my Lord Shrewsbury, with the advantage of seeming franker." It was this intercourse of three days that laid the foundations of lasting friendship between these two eminent men. Ever afterwards there prevailed between them an entire concert of measures, an entire cordiality of feeling. Equally to the honour of Marlborough and of Eugene they almost always viewed public affairs in precisely the same light, and

[9] Vehse, *Geschichte des österreichischen Hofs*, vol. vi. p. 220.

CHAP. IV. 1704.

they were never disjoined by the least spark of personal jealousy. "I dare say"—thus we find Marlborough write four years after this time—"Prince Eugene and I shall never differ about our share of laurels."[1] Nor indeed without such concord could these laurels have been gained.

On the last of the three days that Marlborough and Eugene now passed together they were joined by Louis of Baden, the interview with whom was by no means as satisfactory. The Margrave was extremely jealous of command and—a frequent combination—extremely unfit to hold it. He would by no means agree to the plan which his colleagues pressed upon him, that he should go back to his native country of Baden where his influence would be greatest, and defend the lines of Stollhofen against Tallard, while Eugene should co-operate with Marlborough against the Elector of Bavaria. The latter post as the most brilliant was preferred by Prince Louis, who as elder in rank insisted on priority of choice. With ludicrous presumption he deemed himself superior even to Marlborough, and was with great difficulty brought to consent that they should share the command when the two armies joined, each chief to hold sway on alternate days.

In pursuance of these resolutions Prince Eugene set out for the Rhine and Prince Louis for the Danube. Marlborough on his part led his troops by the narrow pass of Gieslingen through that difficult chain of hills known in Wurtemberg by the name of RAUHE ALP—the rugged Alps. At no time was it easy to lead troops through that defile, but then some heavy rains had swelled the runlets into torrents and broken up the road. It was only by great exertions that Marlborough and his men could struggle through. Even after they had passed he might still complain of some

[1] To Mr. Travers, July 30, 1708. Coxe's Marlborough, vol. iv. p. 164.

days of almost wintry weather in the midst of that summer season. Thus he writes to the Duchess from Langenau on the 25th of June: "As I was never more sensible of heat in my life than I was a fortnight ago we have now the other extremity of cold, for as I am writing I am forced to have fire in the stove in my chamber. But the poor men that have not such conveniencies I am afraid will suffer from these continual rains." 1704.

At the entry of this pass of Gieslingen the Duke was further harassed by the receipt of some timid letters from the Hague. When Marshal Villeroy found that Marlborough was marching up the Rhine he had hastened from Flanders with some of his best troops and joined Marshal Tallard in Alsace. But there now arose a rumour that Villeroy was returning to his former post. The States General at all events returned to their former fears. They declared themselves in imminent danger of invasion, and wrote to Marlborough in earnest terms pressing him to send back their troops.

The great mind of Marlborough was not to be thus diverted from pushing forward with all his forces to the real post of danger and of duty. At the same time he contrived with much adroitness to soothe the alarm of the States by sending orders to collect a sufficient number of boats upon the Upper Rhine so as to facilitate the rapid return of their troops if their territory should be indeed assailed.

It is less pleasing to find Marlborough at this period, or earlier still, receive and not reject—only refer to the Queen in England—a proposal from the Emperor to bestow on him a grant of lands and create him a Prince of the Empire. Far better for his fame that the proposal did not at once take effect and that on this occasion the service preceded the reward.

Having emerged from the pass of Gieslingen and

CHAP. IV. 1704.

entered on the open plains the Duke speedily joined the army of Prince Louis. Their combined force was very formidable, amounting probably to 60,000 men, but it was composed of most various materials. Marlborough besides his English had under him Dutch, Danes, and Hanoverians; the Margrave besides the Imperialists had Suabians, Prussians, and Franconians.

Marching onwards the Duke and Margrave came to Elchingen, a village rendered memorable by a gallant feat of arms a century later, and which gave in consequence the title of Duke to Marshal Ney. As they advanced the Elector withdrew in haste from his headquarters at Ulm. He did not nevertheless relinquish the left bank of the Danube, but stationed his army in a fortified camp which he had prepared lower down the stream at Dillingen. Ulm meanwhile was left with strong works, and a sufficient garrison.

Ulm however was not Marlborough's object. The plan which he had formed but not yet disclosed was to secure Donauwerth with its bridge across the Danube and there establish his magazines. It was with some difficulty that he could induce his colleague to join in this design, and to march in that direction. Then their aim becoming manifest the Elector took the alarm. Besides the garrison which he had already placed in Donauwerth he sent forward in hot haste a body of 12,000 men, horse and foot, to occupy and defend the Schellenberg, a mountain of gradual ascent which overhangs the town.

On the 1st of July, which on the system of alternate command was the Margrave's day, the Allies in their progress defiled before the Elector's camp. They were watched but not attacked by the Elector's cavalry. When they encamped for the night they were still fourteen miles from the foot of the Schellenberg. But on the morrow, which was Marlborough's day, the first detachment was set in motion by three in the morning,

under the command of the Duke himself; and the army followed at five. After some hours of toilsome marching the antique towers of Donauwerth rose on the horizon—beyond them the rapid Danube—above them the Schellenberg heights. Count Arco who commanded the Bavarians had well employed his time. He had posted his men along the mountain slope and begun to intrench the ground. A little more leisure would have enabled him to complete his preparations. Marlborough felt also that were the attack to be postponed the next day would be wasted by the Margrave in waverings or, as the Margrave might prefer to say, in deliberations. Therefore though the men might be weary and many of the troops not yet arrived Marlborough gave orders for the onset that very afternoon.

The brunt of the action which ensued was borne by the English foot. Most gallantly did they mount the well-defended hill; twice were they arrested or repulsed, but in the third attack supported by the Imperialists who were led by Prince Louis in person they prevailed. The Bavarians disbanded and fled in disorder. Many made their way to the Donauwerth bridge, and some two or three thousand of their number passed, but the hindmost broke it down by their weight and were drowned in the Danube. Arco himself escaped with difficulty, and his son was one of those who perished in the river. Sixteen pieces of artillery and all the tents were taken.

The Allies and especially the English sustained a heavy loss in this conflict—1,500 killed and 4,000 wounded. But the victory was to them of the highest importance. By this hard fought action Marlborough had in no common degree cheered and inspirited his men; he had gained for them a strong position; he had destroyed great part of the Bavarian division; and he had flung the rest across the Danube. Next day we find him write to his Sarah an account of his success, and add the following words: "Now that I have told

CHAP. IV. 1704.

you the good, I must tell you the ill, news; which is that the Marshal de Villeroy has promised the Elector that he will send him by way of the Black Forest 50 battalions of foot and 60 squadrons of horse—and as he tells him in his letter the best troops of France—which would make him stronger than we. But I rely very much on the assurances Prince Eugene gave me yesterday by his Adjutant General, that he would venture the whole rather than suffer them to pass quietly as the last did."

The alarming news which Marlborough here mentions had reached him by an intercepted letter just before the commencement of the action. But it had not distracted his attention nor ruffled his composure. Ever serene and self-possessed he applied himself with undivided zeal to the duty which was then before him.

There is no doubt as regards the battle of the Schellenberg that it was the genius of Marlborough which first planned and then brought it to a successful issue. But as the Margrave had been the first to enter the intrenchment his partisans desired to ascribe to him the chief honour of the day. They struck a medal representing on one side the head of the Margrave, and on the other the lines of Schellenberg with a pompous Latin inscription. Pity that there was not also another medal to delineate Esop's fable where a frog attempts to swell itself to the full dimensions of an ox!

The Elector of Bavaria disheartened by the Schellenberg action, now withdrew his garrison from Donauwerth and retired to another intrenched camp near Augsburg, there to await the promised succours from France. "It is very plain" so writes Marlborough "that if Her Majesty's troops had not been here the Elector had been now in Vienna." Marlborough himself with the Margrave hereupon took possession of Donauwerth which they made their place of arms. Next day the army ranged in five columns crossed the

Danube. But to gain the heart of the Elector's country it was necessary to pass another deep and rapid river the Lech. A suitable point for this passage near the village of Gunderkingen was selected by Colonel Cadogan, one of the officers on whom Marlborough most relied. There he proceeded to lay down the pontoons; and there the army went over the Lech on the 7th of July. 1704.

Having thus the Elector's country at his mercy Marlborough deemed the moment opportune to bring him to terms. A negotiation previously commenced and broken off was now resumed. The Duke offered—an offer not very willingly concurred in by the Emperor who rather desired the Elector's ruin—that His Highness should be reinstated in his dominions, and receive a subsidy of 200,000 crowns provided he would break with King Louis and furnish 12,000 men to the High Allies. The Elector at first seemed willing to accept such favourable terms. But the near approach of the French succour kept him firm to the French cause. He sent his secretary to the appointed place of meeting with a message that he could not desert his ally; and upon this his unfortunate dominions were given up to military execution. Here is Marlborough's own account to the Duchess: "The succours which the Elector expects on Sunday have given him so much resolution that he has no thoughts of peace. However we are in his country, and he will find it difficult to persuade us to quit it. We sent this morning 3,000 horse to his chief city of Munich, with orders to burn and destroy all the country about it. This is so contrary to my nature that nothing but absolute necessity could have obliged me to consent to it, since these poor people suffer for their master's ambition."

In another letter of the same month and to the same person Marlborough says: "I have great reason to hope that everything will go on well, for I have the

CHAP. IV. 1704.

pleasure to find all the officers willing to obey without knowing any other reason than that it is my desire, which is very different from what it was in Flanders where I was obliged to have the consent of a council of war for everything I undertook."—It must not be supposed however that these acquiescing officers included Prince Louis of Baden. On the contrary the letters of Marlborough at this very period teem with complaints of his Highness's jealous and impracticable temper.

From the Danube we pass to the Rhine.—Villeroy and Tallard in the conferences which they held together consequent on the march of Marlborough into Germany framed and transmitted to Versailles four separate schemes for a diversion. They might besiege Mayence; they might besiege Friburg; they might assail the lines of Stollhofen; or they might detach one of their two armies to join the Elector. Louis the Fourteenth being warmly pressed for immediate succour by Legall the Elector's Envoy decided for the last of these plans.[2] Accordingly, while Villeroy remained for the defence of Alsace Tallard crossed the Rhine and once more traversed the Black Forest at the head of 25,000 men. He lost five days in a fruitless attempt on the town of Villingen, but on the 3rd of August made his junction with the Electoral army in its Augsburg camp.

This second march of Tallard through the defiles of the Black Forest differed greatly in one respect from that which he had made in the preceding spring. He had no longer on his flank the formal Margrave of Baden who had let him pass and repass without a blow. There was now the far more active Prince Eugene, who was no sooner apprised of his movements than he began a parallel march at the head of 18,000 men. He reached the banks of the Danube at Hochstädt between Dillingen

[2] Mémoires militaires de la Succession d'Espagne, vol. iv. p. 405.

and Donauwerth at nearly the same time that the Augsburg junction was effected.

1704. At this news Marlborough and the Margrave who had advanced as far as Friedberg made a retrograde movement by way of Aicha to draw nearer to Eugene. It was not long ere Eugene himself appeared in their camp, having left his troops in order to confer with his colleagues. They resolved that in spite of the enemy's superior force they would not let go their hold upon Bavaria. On the contrary they trusted to secure it by the reduction of Ingolstadt, a virgin fortress as it boasted itself which had never yet yielded to any conqueror. Prince Louis was persuaded to undertake its siege with a separate division of 16,000 men. Marlborough and Eugene viewed this enterprise with especial pleasure. Perhaps it might gain them an important fortress, certainly it would rid them of an insufferable colleague.

Early on the 9th of August Prince Louis set out for the siege of Ingolstadt; and later on the same day Prince Eugene set out also to rejoin his army. But within two hours he hurried back to Marlborough with intelligence that the enemy had broken up from Augsburg and were in full march to Dillingen. Manifestly it was their design to pass over to the left bank of the Danube and overwhelm if they could the scanty forces of Eugene. The two chiefs immediately concerted their measures and Eugene then set out for the second time. His army was directed to retire from Hochstädt to the line of the Kessel, and Marlborough made all speed to support it with his own. The first division of his cavalry under the Duke of Wurtemberg at once received its orders and began its march at midnight. General Churchill followed with the first division of foot, and at daybreak Marlborough himself moved with the main body. To avoid incumbrances the last divisions went over the Danube by the aid of pontoons at Merxheim, a point

CHAP. IV. 1704.

below the junction of the Lech; while the first divisions passed the Lech by the newly formed bridge at Gunderkingen, and the Danube by the old bridge of Donauwerth.

During his few hours of anxious halt upon the 10th we find Marlborough write as usual in confidence to Godolphin: "The French" he says "make their boasts of having a great superiority; but I am very confident they will not venture a battle. Yet if we find a fair occasion we shall be glad to embrace it, being persuaded that the ill condition of our affairs in most parts requires it."

Pressing onwards all through the 11th Marlborough late that evening effected his junction with Eugene. His artillery and baggage however did not come up till sunrise the next day. The combined armies were then encamped with the small stream of the Kessel in their front, and the river Danube on their left. The enemy it was known was before them, having moved upon Hochstädt from Dillingen.

To obtain exact intelligence and to concert a forward movement Marlborough and Eugene rode out on the forenoon of the 12th at the head of the Grand Guards. It was not long ere they descried some squadrons of the enemy's horse. Ascending the church tower of Dapfheim the two chiefs saw the whole army in the distance and the Quarter-Masters busy in preparing an encampment on the rising ground beyond the Nebel. The opportunity seemed favourable to Marlborough and his colleague; and they determined to give battle the next day. Riding back to their own camp they issued in the evening the needful orders, received by the troops with joyful alacrity.

On the morrow then, the 13th of August, was to be fought that great battle on which the liberties of Europe depended. Marlborough was deeply impressed with the awful crisis before him. He passed a part of

the night in prayer, and received the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England from his chaplain Mr. Hare. Then after a short rest he started up to hold council with Eugene. The two chiefs while anxiously watching for the first grey streaks upon the eastern sky concerted together in detail the various arrangements of the coming conflict.

CHAPTER V.

CHAP. V. 1704.

BEFORE I proceed to the events of the battle of Blenheim it may be proper that I should examine the amount of the forces engaged and also explain the configuration of the ground.

It is by no means easy to state with entire exactness the strength of any army in that age. We find it in most cases expressed only by the number of battalions of foot and squadrons of horse. We may allow upon a general average 500 men to each battalion and 120 to each squadron, but these numbers varied a little in particular services and also at particular times. The German squadrons for example were rather larger than the English; and thus even in the most careful computations some margin for conjecture must remain.

Marlborough himself in his letter to the States of Holland writes that the Allied army on the day of battle consisted of 64 battalions and 166 squadrons, which with due allowance for the strength of the German squadrons would make 52,000 men. That is also the number stated by writers of authority on either side, as by Archdeacon Coxe on the part of England and by Voltaire on the part of France.

The army of France and Bavaria on this day is stated by Marlborough as of 82 battalions and 152 squadrons. Nor does the account of Tallard greatly differ, since he allows the same number of battalions and only a few more squadrons. Archdeacon Coxe computes the entire number at 56,000 men but expresses in a note his doubt whether he has not rather underrated it. For my own part I see no reason to dispute the accuracy on this

point of Voltaire, who had subsequent opportunities as he tells us to converse with several of the General Officers engaged, and who gives the entire force as of 60,000 men. Such is also the force assigned by some of the latest French writers on that period, as for instance M. Latena, author of a short biography of Prince Eugene.[1]—At all events there is nothing in these numbers to disparage that military prowess for which the French nation has ever been renowned. The difference between fifty-two and sixty thousand men by no means fully measures the disproportion of genius between the opposite chiefs—between Tallard and Marlborough—between the Elector and Eugene.

As respects the ground the small town of Hochstädt with its marshy plain was a little behind the position of the French; and might seem to them of favourable augury as the scene of the victory of Villars in the preceding year. To their right was the Danube, there about three hundred feet broad and on no point fordable, but rolling rapidly between banks either steep or swampy. To their left the valley was bounded by a range of wooded hills. It widened to nearly three miles along the little stream of the Nebel, but contracted again to little more than half a mile at the village of Dapfheim. Near the confluence of the Nebel with the Danube stands the village of Blindheim which was also called Plintheim, but which in England has gained immortal fame under the less accurate form of Blenheim. It was however divided from the Nebel by a narrow strip of swelling ground. Between one and two miles higher up were two other villages, first Unterglau and then Oberglau, standing on opposite sides of the Nebel, and higher still near the sources of the little stream was Lützingen. The ground bordering the Nebel especially between Blenheim and Unter-

[1] In the volume published 1856 of the *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle* of Didot.

CHAP. V. 1704.

glau was little better than a morass and in some places impassable. Straight through it however ran the great road from Dillingen to Donauwerth which crossed the Nebel by a stone bridge, and a little above Blenheim were two water-mills well adapted to serve as redoubts and to defend the passage of the stream.

Moreover on the right bank of the Nebel and beyond its morass though still following its course was a range of gentle uplands. They began behind the village of Blenheim and continued to the village of Lützingen where they blended with the hills. It was along their summit and their side that the French had chosen their position, and from the morass and the stream in their front they could not be approached without considerable difficulty. Tallard and his army held Blenheim and the ridge beyond it; the Elector and Marsin with theirs held Lützingen and Oberglau. But the dispositions of Tallard have been severely blamed. He had stationed his best infantry in Blenheim and they had fortified the village with palisades. Here "this great body of troops were so pent up and crowded that they had not room to make use of their arms." So writes, perhaps with some exaggeration, Brigadier-General Kane, one of the officers who that day led the attack upon them. And besides that the massing of these troops in that one place impeded their movements and led to their disaster, it had further tended in no small degree to weaken the main body where Tallard himself commanded and where a favourable opening to an enemy might perhaps appear.

Long before the sun had risen on the memorable 13th of August the Allied troops left their camp. They crossed the Kessel at three in the morning and marched onward. Marlborough with much the larger army held their left and would thus confront Tallard; Eugene with the less force held their right and would thus confront the Elector and Marsin. Towards six o'clock

they descried the advanced posts of the enemy falling back on their approach; and the morning haze dispersing the two armies were in sight of each other. Still the French chiefs were far from understanding the full magnitude of the issue before them. Tallard who had written a letter to the King of France added at this hour a few hasty lines of postscript: "Our enemies are now in view and ranged as if for action; but according to appearances they will march further this day. The report is that they are going to Nordlingen. If so they will have to leave us between them and the Danube; and will find it very hard to maintain the settlements they have made in Bavaria."

It was not long however ere the Allies deployed, and gave other indications of their intention to attack. Tallard started at once from his false security and hastened to make the needful preparations. He drew up his troops in line and placed his artillery where it could best command the passable points of the morass. And in cannon as in men the French were that day superior to the English. It is computed that they had 90 pieces of artillery against 66; and of these they were impatient to make use. Within a short period a heavy cannonade was opened from every part of the enemy's right wing.

Meanwhile Prince Eugene had taken leave of Marlborough and was leading his troops to their appointed ground. He promised to send notice to his colleague as soon as his lines were formed, so that the joint attack might be then commenced. He found however great impediments to his progress. The country was rough and the watercourses were so broad that they required to be filled up with fascines before they could be passed by the guns. Thus to the chagrin of Marlborough though by no means to the blame of Eugene considerable delay ensued. During the interval Marlborough gave orders for public prayers; and Lord Macaulay has described the scene with his usual anima-

CHAP. V. 1704.

tion. "The English Chaplains read the service at the head of the English regiments. The Calvinistic Chaplains of the Dutch army with heads on which the hand of Bishop had never been laid poured forth their supplications in front of their countrymen. In the meantime the Danes might listen to their Lutheran Ministers; and Capuchins might encourage the Austrian squadrons, and pray to the Virgin for a blessing on the arms of the Holy Roman Empire. The battle commences and these men of various religions all act like members of one body."—We may observe that this passage does not occur in any of Lord Macaulay's historical narratives. It is to be found in one of his critical essays. The accomplished writer is here contending with a no less accomplished adversary. He seeks to controvert the arguments of Mr. Gladstone's "Church and State"; and in order to controvert not a little magnifies them.[2]

The public prayers having ended Marlborough with his usual humanity pointed out to the surgeons the most suitable posts for the care of the wounded. He then rode forward to inspect his lines. As he passed along the front a ball from one of the opposite batteries struck the ground beneath his horse and covered him with earth. The troops within sight showed a lively concern, but the composure of Marlborough himself was not disturbed. Having completed his inspection he sat down on the ground to breakfast in company with his principal officers. There soon after midday he received the long expected message from Eugene. An aide-de-camp came spurring up with tidings that the Prince was ready. "Now gentlemen to your posts!" cried Marlborough as he rose and mounted his horse.

His call was promptly answered. Lord Cutts, one of the bravest men in the British army—surnamed by

[2] See the passage as first published in the Edinburgh Review for April 1839, p. 243.

his brother officers "the Salamander" from his utter disregard of fire—put himself at the head of his division —a large body of foot soldiers—and dashed full upon the French at Blenheim. The cavalry led by Marlborough in person was designed to force the passage of the stream and the morass, in the centre of the line, between Blenheim and Unterglau. On the further wing Eugene with equal gallantry engaged the foes before him. 1704.

Lord Cutts's division descending to the bank of the Nebel took possession of the water-mills under a heavy fire of grape. Having crossed the stream they drew up on the further bank where they were covered by the small strip of rising ground. Moving on to Blenheim village which the French held within the palisades they encountered at only thirty paces the first full volley of small arms. Many of their best men fell. But still the advance continued. The gallant General Rowe who commanded the leading brigade stuck his sword into the palisades before he would give the word to fire. Then, thus closely pressed, the slaughter was terrible and chiefly on the side of the Allies. One-third of the troops composing their first line were either killed or wounded. Down went the intrepid Rowe; and both his Lieutenant-Colonel and his Major while seeking to extricate his body shared his fate.

Protected by the palisades and superior in numbers the French were enabled to repulse this first attack. The Allied forces fell back in disarray and were further charged in flank by three squadrons of gens-d'armes. The colours of Rowe's regiment were captured but only for a moment being almost immediately recovered by a body of Hessians. Lord Cutts seeing that some fresh squadrons were preparing to charge sent in all haste to General Lumley who commanded the nearest Allied horse for reinforcements. Five squadrons were immediately detached across the Nebel to his succour;

CHAP. V. 1704.

and by their aid he was enabled not only to repel the enemy's advance but to charge them in their turn. There were some furious encounters. Once again the Allies were forced back to their lines.

On their right where Eugene commanded the Danes and Prussians under the Prince of Anhalt marched first to the assault. They threw into confusion the first line of the Bavarian horse, and took one of the French batteries. But the battery was quickly recovered and the assault was turned back on the assailants. The French fought with admirable spirit as they almost always have done even when indifferently led. The prowess of the Irish brigade in their service—alas to find it so often in strife with England!—is also on this day especially recorded. Nor have historical writers failed to commemorate with all due praise upon the other side the conduct of Prussians and Hanoverians, of Dutch and Danes. But loud complaints are made on this occasion of the Imperial cavalry, which although a large body proved of little avail. Their onset was irresolute and feeble, and three times over were they broken and routed. So eager was Prince Eugene to rally the fugitives and retrieve the failure that in his endeavours—which finally succeeded—he exposed his own person with most inconsiderate daring. He was nearly shot dead by a Bavarian dragoon, who came up within a few paces, and who was already levelling a pistol to his breast when one of his own men by a sabre-stroke at that critical minute cut the trooper down.

Marlborough meanwhile perceiving that Lord Cutts could not prevail in his repeated assaults upon the French at Blenheim sent him orders to keep up only a feigned attack by firing in platoons over the crest of the rising ground. This would afford to Marlborough the time of coming to his aid after the main body should have passed the Nebel and morass. Already the horsemen under Marlborough's own eye were casting fascines

into the stream or forming bridges with the planks of the pontoons, while others plunged into the water and waded through the swamp. It was only with great difficulty that the horses could be brought across. As thus they struggled onwards the French brought a part of their artillery to bear upon them and to enfilade the crowded columns which painfully advanced. But Tallard forbore any general onset against them while here entangled and impeded, and only attempted a charge after they had got over; an omission which, whether it resulted from neglect or from over confidence, has been urged as a severe reproach upon his military skill.

Having overcome all obstacles the troops under the immediate direction of General Lumley were formed in two lines on the further side of the morass. At this time however the news came that the Danish and Prussian cavalry were charged by the right wing of Marsin bearing down from Oberglau. The two foremost of their battalions were nearly cut to pieces and their chief the Prince of Holstein was mortally wounded. Marlborough seeing the peril set spurs to his horse and galloped at once to the scene of action. He passed the village of Unterglau which the French had set on fire and which was now in flames, and he led the brigade of Bernsdorf against the enemy across the stream. He further brought into play some of the wavering Imperial cavalry, and by great exertions entirely retrieved the alarming impression which the enemy had made on this side. Through this prompt and skilful movement he had also reestablished his direct communication with the army of Eugene.

This duty achieved Marlborough came back to his cavalry now ranged in two lines beyond the morass and opposite the cavalry of Tallard. At five in the afternoon he was ready for a general charge which should decide the fortune of the day. He bade the

CHAP. V.

1704.

trumpets sound the advance, and drawing his sword put himself at the head of the troops. In full array and with quickening pace they rode up the gentle ascent before them, amidst a terrible fire from both sides of artillery and small arms. Thus drew near the two great masses of horsemen. The Allies might muster 8,000 sabres and the French 10,000. But the latter had not been skilfully posted, and were disheartened by having been kept so much on the defensive. Still the Allies were repulsed in their first onset and fell back some sixty paces. But in their renewed charge which Marlborough after a short interval directed they had better success. The French horse at this crisis failed in steadiness as even their countrymen have proclaimed. "Our cavalry did ill; I repeat it they did very ill"—so writes Tallard in his official report. They discharged their carbines at a considerable distance and with slight effect. Then immediately they wheeled about and galloped away. The day was decided; the Allies had gained the battle.

The victorious troops pressing close on the defeated the latter broke into two parts; the one making in wild haste for the Danube, and the other for Hochstädt. Marlborough himself undertook to urge the former, and entrusted the Dutch General Hompesch with the pursuit of the last. The General did his part with vigour. So long as the daylight lasted he pressed closely on the fugitives who entirely broke their ranks and fled in utter disarray.

Marshal Tallard had remained with the other mass that was driven to the Danube. He was very near-sighted, and it is said that as he galloped onwards he mistook a hostile squadron for some of his own countrymen. According to his own account he and his suite became entangled with a regiment of Hessians, when his rank was discovered by the star and riband which he wore of the Order of the Holy Ghost. His son was struck

down at his side; and the Marshal himself was made prisoner as were also some other chief officers with him. Marlborough with his usual courtesy and kindness sent at once his own equipage for their accommodation.

Thus deprived of their chief the panic-stricken cavalry came dashing down upon the Danube, hoping against hope to find a ford. Pressed by Marlborough from behind some were made prisoners on the brink; many more plunged into the stream and attempted to wade or to swim across. But the waters were too deep, and the current was too strong; man and horse were quickly whirled along and overwhelmed. Not hundreds only but thousands are thought to have perished in this manner.

Marlborough was no sooner well assured of the result than he resolved to despatch that very evening one of his officers with the news to England. He tore a blank leaf from a pocketbook and wrote in pencil a few lines as follows to the Duchess: "I have not time to say more but to beg you will give my duty to the Queen and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. Monsieur Tallard and two other Generals are in my coach; and I am following the rest. The bearer, my aide-de-camp Colonel Parke, will give her an account of what has passed. I shall do it in a day or two by another more at large. MARLBOROUGH." This pencil note is still preserved among the archives at Blenheim, and a facsimile of it has been published by Archdeacon Coxe. It bears on the back a note of some tavern expenses.

Still however there remained in arms the French infantry which had so gallantly defended Blenheim. There stood eleven thousand men; "the best troops of France" as Tallard had lately boasted them to be. They had continued to hold their position in that village though cut off by the rout of Tallard from all communication with their countrymen. Hemmed in by their

CHAP. V.

1704.

victorious and now far superior foes, and expecting no succour they made nevertheless some efforts to escape. Their commander the Marquis de Clerambault, son of the Marshal of that name, sought a way across the Danube, but plunging into the waves and attempting to breast them he was drowned as had been his comrades of the cavalry. Another party attempted to break through in the direction of Hochstädt but was checked by an advance of the Scots Greys under their Colonel Lord John Hay. It is full of interest to find that gallant regiment bear a conspicuous part in the battle of Blenheim as a hundred and eleven years later it did in the battle of Waterloo, when it drew from Napoleon the half angry half admiring exclamation: CES TERRIBLES CHEVAUX GRIS!

The loss of M. de Clerambault had now deprived these French foot of their chief. The loss of one of Tallard's officers some time since on his way to them had deprived them of orders. Nor was any further respite allowed them. Lord Cutts renewed his attack in their front while Lord Orkney and General Ingoldsby, each at the head of his regiment, stormed the village in two other places. Marlborough himself brought up his field artillery and poured some volleys upon them. Several houses of Blenheim caught fire; and the flames which ere long dispelled the evening darkness enabled the English gunners to take the surer aim. Intrepid as was the spirit of the French there was now no resource for them; they had found escape impossible and valour unavailing. A parley took place and the French proposed a capitulation, but General Churchill, who had his brother's orders, rode forwards and told them that there must be an unconditional surrender. Another English officer present, Lord Orkney, when many years later he conversed with Voltaire in London, said that in his judgment there was nothing else that the troops surrounded in Blenheim could have done.

It was a bitter pang to these high-spirited soldiers—these proud battalions which for the last forty years had given the law to Europe. The regiment of Navarre in its despair tore to pieces and burnt its colours that they might not become a trophy to the foe. Then as the bravest must they submitted to their doom. That same evening eleven thousand French foot-soldiers laid down their arms as prisoners of war.

On the right wing of the Allies and all through that afternoon Prince Eugene had been constantly renewing his attacks: "I have not a squadron or battalion"—so said the Prince next day—"which did not charge four times at least." The Elector and Marsin found themselves wholly unable to send to Tallard any succour as Tallard in his need had urgently demanded. The intelligence of his rout was a signal for their own retreat. They set fire to the villages of Lützingen and Oberglau to obstruct the pursuit of their foes, and then filed off in good order along the slope of the hills. Eugene endeavoured to overtake and charge them, but his troops were much exhausted, and theirs were soon concealed from him by the growing shades of night. Next day they passed the Danube by the bridges of Dillingen and Lauingen which they burned behind them, and in utter consternation pursued their flight to Ulm.

Late that same evening Marlborough took up his quarters in a little water-mill near Hochstädt, where he snatched three or four hours of rest. He had been on horseback for seventeen hours; Wellington at Waterloo was so for fifteen.—Next day we find him in a letter to his Duchess sum up as follows the results of the great battle: "In short the army of Monsieur de Tallard which was that I fought with is quite ruined; that of the Elector and Marshal de Marsin which Prince Eugene fought against I am afraid has not had much loss for I cannot find that he has many prisoners. As soon as the Elector knew that Monsieur

CHAP. V. 1704.

de Tallard was like to be beaten he marched off, so that I came only time enough to see him retire. . . . Had the success of Prince Eugene been equal to his merit we should in that day's action have made an end of the war."[3]

Here on the other hand is the testimony borne to Marlborough himself many years afterwards by one of his own officers who was present in the action: "No General ever did behave with more composure of temper and presence of mind than did the Duke on that occasion; he was in all places wherever his presence was requisite, without fear of danger, or in the least hurry, giving his orders with all the calmness imaginable."[4]

Early next morning, the French garrison having fled from Hochstädt, Marlborough and Eugene entered the little town together. There they issued the needful orders for the day. Next they went to pay their compliments to Marshal Tallard at the quarters of the Prince of Hesse. They found him much dejected and wounded in one of his hands. But in conversing with them he referred of his own accord to the events of the preceding day which they would rather have avoided. He spoke in the spirit of a brave man grieving for his failure, yet conscious of his courage. He told the Duke in courtly phrases well worthy of Versailles, that if His Grace had deferred his visit, meaning his attack, a day longer, the Elector and he would have waited on him first.

On taking leave of Marshal Tallard the Duke and Prince marched onwards from Hochstädt a few miles and encamped that evening at Steinheim. There they gave directions for repairing the bridges across the Danube; and there they halted four days to rest the troops and to tend the wounded.

[3] Coxe's Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 6.

[4] Memoirs by Brigadier General Kane, p. 55, ed. 1746.

The French and Bavarians made prisoners in this battle amounted to about 14,000 including a large number of officers. Of these prisoners however the two regiments of Greder and Zurlauben together 2,000 strong, which had been in the pay of the Elector, and which now saw the ruin of his cause, consented to change sides and to engage in the Imperial ranks. Several hundred other soldiers, acting singly, took a similar course, so that the number of captives to be treated as such was brought down to 11,000. All these had surrendered to the troops of Marlborough, and were therefore at the sole disposal of that chief. But he in a generous spirit and knowing that the exertions of his colleague had been fully commensurate to his own, determined as a compliment to share the prisoners equally with him. The exact numbers allotted were 5,678 to the army of Marlborough and 5,514 to the army of Eugene. Marlborough reserved only Marshal Tallard and a few superior officers to be sent at leisure to an honourable captivity in England.

The number of the French and Bavarians who were slain in the action or who perished in the Danube was more difficult to compute with precision; it has however been stated at 12,000 men. To these would have to be added several thousand wounded. But the French themselves have acknowledged that their entire loss of all kinds scarcely fell short of 40,000; since they found that of the 60,000 who were in arms on the morning of the 14th not more than 20,000 either remained beneath, or returned to, their standards. All their tents and baggage, and a very large proportion of both their artillery and their colours had been taken.—On the other hand it is not to be supposed that so vast a victory over so martial a race could be achieved without heavy loss of men to the victors also. The Allies had 4,500 killed and 7,500 wounded; of these the largest proportion in the army of Eugene.

CHAP. V. 1704.

Such then was the battle of Blenheim as we say, or of Hochstädt as the French have with less accuracy called it—a battle in which it pleased God to grant to the English commander a triumph so signal over his opponents. "He gave them as the dust to his sword, and as driven stubble to his bow." Nor was it the mere battle alone. The tidings of that battle broke the spell which had been cast over Europe by the prosperous and haughty reign of Louis the Fourteenth. William in former years had done little more than arrest his advance and balance his successes. Marlborough was in truth the first to turn these successes to defeat. That Sun which in his youth Louis had taken for his emblem and device seemed now for the first time overclouded; men saw that its light had paled; men thought that its setting was near.

But the magnanimity of Louis in this as in later reverses was truly admirable. There were none of those bursts of passion on his ill fortune, those fiery invectives against his unsuccessful chiefs, which Napoleon so often indulged in. The heir of forty Kings on the contrary, as viewed in his most secret correspondence, evinces a serene and lofty fortitude—abstaining from useless complaints—allowing in the fullest manner for involuntary errors—and seeking only how the past disaster might be most effectually retrieved. Of Marlborough's captive the monarch writes only, "I am sorry for the Maréchal de Tallard, and I take true interest in the grief which he must feel at the loss of his son."

Still more magnanimous if possible and still more kindly is the tone of Louis towards his unfortunate ally. "The present position of the Elector of Bavaria gives me more concern than even my own loss. If he should now conclude a treaty with the Emperor to preserve his family from being made prisoners or his country from being laid waste, that treaty whatever it be will cause me no displeasure. You may assure him that

there shall be no change in my sentiments towards him; and that I shall never sign any peace that does not provide for his reinstatement in his dominions. If on the other hand the enemy is resolved to grant him no terms he shall go to command in Flanders, where he could maintain the war with more hopeful opportunities and with better success."[5]

Marlborough was far from desiring to press hard on the Elector. "I had much rather"—so he writes on the 18th to the Duchess—"the Elector should quit the French interest if it might be upon reasonable terms; but the Imperialists are for his entire ruin." In these conciliatory views Marlborough induced his colleague in command to join. "Prince Eugene and I"—so he writes again on the 21st—"have offered the Elector by a gentleman who is not yet returned, that if he will join in the common cause against France he shall be put in possession of his whole country and receive from the Queen and Holland 400,000 crowns yearly for which he should only furnish the Allies with 8,000 men. But I take it for granted he is determined to go for France, and abandon his own country to the rage of the Germans."

Such was indeed the case. The part of Maximilian was already taken. He had made up his mind to follow the fortunes of Louis; and he left his consort with her children at Munich to make her submission to Marlborough and endure the hard conditions which the Emperor imposed. Throwing then a garrison of three or four thousand men into Ulm, and leaving there the worst of the wounded brought from Blenheim, though only with the hope of obtaining for them an honourable capitulation, he joined Marshal Marsin in a rapid march through the defiles of the Black Forest. Marshal Vil-

[5] Letters from Louis to Marshal Marsin, August 21 and 23, and to Marshal Villeroy, August 23, 1704. All these are printed in the fourth volume of the *Mémoires militaires*, edited by General Pelet in the reign of Louis Philippe.

CHAP. V. 1704.

leroy had made a movement to meet them, so as if need were to protect their retreat; and all three in mournful mood arrived together at Strasburg, having crossed the Rhine by the bridge of boats at Kehl.

Marlborough and Eugene after their four days' halt at Steinheim marched on to Sefelingen within one English mile of Ulm. Here they were rejoined by Prince Louis of Baden full of wrath and regret, as we may conceive, at having had no share in the laurels of Blenheim. That victory had enabled him to turn the siege of Ingolstadt into a blockade, leaving before it only a small body of troops. It was now agreed between the three chiefs that after the surrender of Ingolstadt which was soon expected the same body of troops should remain for the reduction of Ulm, while they with the main army should carry the war into the country beyond the Rhine.

It is worthy of note how little Marlborough spared himself and how greatly his health was affected by the toils of this campaign. He writes to Godolphin as follows from his camp at Steinheim: "I am suffered to have so little time to myself that I have a continual fever on my spirits which makes me very weak. Nothing but my zeal for Her Majesty's service could have enabled me to go through the fatigues I have had for the last three months; and I am but too sure that when I shall have the happiness of seeing you, you will find me ten years older than when I left England." And to the Duchess he adds: "For thousands of reasons I wish myself with you. Besides I think if I were with you quietly at the Lodge I should have more health, for I am at this time so very lean that it is extreme uneasy to me, so that your care must nurse me this winter or I shall certainly be in a consumption."

The tidings of Blenheim as first conveyed by Colonel Parke, the bearer of the pencil note of Marlborough, were most joyfully received both by high and low.

The Queen at once addressed a few lines of warm congratulation to her dearest Mrs. Freeman. The common people threw up their caps and huzzaed. Yet amidst the general exultation there were traces—at all times too frequent amongst us—of malignant party rancour. As some extreme Whigs repined at the battle of Waterloo, so did some extreme Tories repine at the battle of Blenheim. From the first the followers of Rochester and Nottingham in the Lords and of Sir Edward Seymour in the Commons had denounced the expedition into Germany. They exclaimed that Marlborough was exceeding his powers—that he was deserting the Dutch—that he was imperilling the English on a distant and uncertain enterprise. He should be attacked in Parliament they said, nay more be impeached if he should fail. Nor did the news of his successes greatly change the tone of his accusers. The battle of Schellenberg—that was no victory at all! The battle of Blenheim—that was a victory no doubt but a bloody and a useless one, tending to exhaust England of its soldiers and without any commensurate injury to France. "It is true," so said a leading politician on this last conflict, "a great many men were killed and taken, but that to the French King is no more than to take a bucket of water out of a river." Mrs. Burnet, wife of the Bishop, wrote this saying to the Duchess of Marlborough and the Duchess wrote it to the Duke. He appears to have been greatly nettled and he replied as follows: "As to what the gentleman says of a bucket of water, if they will allow us to draw one or two such buckets more I should think we might then let the river run quietly and not much apprehend its overflowing and destroying its neighbours. . . . . But I will endeavour to leave a good name behind me in countries that have hardly any blessing but that of not knowing the detested names of Whig and Tory."[6]

[6] To the Duchess, Sept. 2, and Oct. 20, 1704.

CHAP. V. 1704.

With this section of the Tories, which had at least the merit of allegiance to Queen Anne, there was also at this time especially opposed to Marlborough that larger and separate branch, which bore the name of Jacobites, and which adhered to the fallen family. It was natural that these men should look with little favour on any victory that humbled France, since it was from French territory and through French aid that they expected their rightful Prince—their own "James the Third"—to return. Bearing all these party cries in remembrance, and being mindful also how much since the downfall of the Fronde the voice of opposition had been hushed in France, it would scarcely perhaps be an exaggerated statement to affirm that after the battle of Blenheim there were more complaints in England against Marlborough than there were in France against Tallard.

Meanwhile the Allied chiefs having led their troops by divers routes beyond the Rhine combined them once more in the neighbourhood of Philipsburg. There they found themselves confronted by the French army under Marshal Villeroy, and another general action was expected. But the French had been greatly weakened and even more dispirited by the day of Blenheim. They withdrew from their position without a blow, and left the Allies at full liberty to attack as they desired Landau. That unfortunate city had therefore to sustain another siege—the third within two years. It was invested by Prince Louis on the 12th of September while the covering army was commanded by Marlborough and Eugene. Within ten days however Joseph King of the Romans arriving from Vienna assumed the nominal direction of the siege.

The French garrison of Landau made a most resolute resistance, but since Villeroy could not hazard a battle for its relief its surrender was only a question of time. It seemed to Marlborough that during a part of this

time his army might be employed with great advantage on another enterprise. He led his troops at some hazard across the rugged and difficult uplands which separate the valley of the Queich from the valley of the Moselle —"the terriblest country that can be imagined for the march of an army with cannon," as he says in one of his letters. By his rapid movements he anticipated the arrival of a division of French and occupied without resistance the city of Treves. Thence he took measures for the siege of Trarbach, the conduct of which he entrusted to the Prince of Hesse. It is very remarkable that King Louis writing from his palace at Fontainebleau had with great sagacity surmised these to be the very operations which Marlborough had in view.[7]

Before the close of November both Landau and Trarbach had surrendered; and the fall of the latter enabled the army to take up its winter-quarters on the Moselle from Coblentz to Treves. The campaign was virtually over even at an earlier date, and Marlborough might have at once repaired to the Hague and from thence to London but for another affair which was unexpectedly claiming his attention. This affair arose from the course of events this year in Northern Italy.

Victor Amadeus had been assailed by very superior forces from France. He was wholly unable to meet them in the open field, and could only hover round them at any siege they undertook, endeavouring to protract that siege as much as possible. Vercelli and Ivrea were successively reduced by the Duke de Vendome, and Verrua the key of Turin was next invested. It was clear that unless some succour could be sent to the Duke of Savoy before the next campaign his capital must fall and he must submit to whatever terms

[7] "Il y a grande apparence que M. de Marlborough fera . . . occuper Trèves s'il peut, et même attaquer Trarbach." Lettre au Maréchal de Villeroy, 20 Septembre 1704. The movement of Marlborough was not made till more than a month afterwards.

CHAP. V. 1704.

the French King might impose. The Duke of Savoy wrote therefore to the Emperor in most pressing terms beseeching aid; and applications to the same effect came to the allied chiefs beyond the Rhine. Mr. Hill the English Minister at Turin urged the case more especially on Marlborough as the leading spirit of the whole confederacy; and he added, "We expect salvation from no side but from your Grace, but from thence we do expect it."

Marlborough saw most clearly the great importance of affording aid to Victor Amadeus and saving Piedmont from France. But the difficulty was to say from what quarter the required succours were to come. They could not be spared from his own army or from Prince Eugene's without serious detriment to the common cause. The Emperor's few disposable troops were fully engaged in Hungary. Even money at that period could gain us no more men from the other German Princes. Only one among them, the King of Prussia, from the state of his warlike equipments, was in a condition to send out additional troops, and that prince would be hard, very hard, to persuade. It was strongly pressed upon Marlborough that he should himself go to Berlin, and there propose a treaty for 8,000 further troops in aid of the Duke of Savoy.

In his zeal for the common cause, though with much reluctance, Marlborough undertook this toilsome task. He set out on the 15th of November even before the two fortresses had yielded; and was a full week in reaching Berlin, although as he tells us he was fourteen or fifteen hours daily on the road. At Berlin he wrought so successfully on his Prussian Majesty that in a very few days he was enabled—not however without the promise of an English subsidy—to sign a convention for the required 8,000 men. "It is not to be expressed," so he writes to the Duchess, "the civilities and honours they have done me here, the Ministers

assuring me that no other body could have prevailed with the King." Marlborough on his return passed two days at Hanover to pay his respects to the Elector; and then pursued his journey to the Hague and England.

Marlborough at this period was also in communication with the Emperor's Ministers and attempting at their request to mediate a reconciliation with the Hungarian malcontents. He urged but in vain that the Emperor should freely concede a full measure of religious liberty. Unhappily the Jesuists were still in the ascendant at the Court of Vienna, and Leopold preferred to look to the probable triumph of his arms. The victory at Blenheim gave him means to send some reinforcements into Hungary; and the insurgents who had so lately threatened Vienna began to tremble for themselves. Ere long accordingly General Heuster the Imperial chief gained a signal victory over them, killing or making prisoners the best part of their infantry. Ragotsky indeed still continued in arms, and through the Emperor's stubbornness the troubles in Hungary were by no means appeased; but they dwindled in importance and ceased from this period to have any considerable weight in the general politics of Europe.

Louis the Fourteenth grown wiser by late experience pursued a far different course in Languedoc. The prince who had revoked the Edict of Nantes could not indeed by any amount of schooling be brought to concede religious toleration. But he left the new governor the Maréchal de Villars free to renounce the former cruelties and attempt a healing policy. Villars announced that he should in no degree molest those insurgents who quietly returned to their homes, while on the other hand he gave facilities to such as would rather leave the kingdom. Under this system by far the greater number of the Camisards laid down their arms. Their chief Jean Cavalier himself entered into terms. It was proposed to him to engage in the King's army

CHAP. V. 1704.

with the command of a regiment composed of his former followers. But since full religious liberty was not to be allowed them he declined the offer. He made his way to Holland and there also obtained a Colonel's commission. He distinguished himself on several occasions, more especially at the battle of Almanza, and subsequently entering the English service attained the rank of General, being also named Lieutenant Governor of Jersey. He died at Chelsea in 1740. "He was of very mean appearance," says Speaker Onslow.[8]

It was not until this year that the war which arose from the Succession of Spain was waged within that kingdom. There also the Court of Versailles had desired to commence a vigorous campaign. A subsidiary force of twelve thousand French troops crossed the Pyrenees, and joining the old Spanish regiments made up a disposable army of almost thirty-five thousand. At the desire of King Louis the chief command was entrusted to a good officer in his service—the Duke of Berwick, a son of James the Second by Arabella Churchill; and a nephew therefore on the mother's side of Marlborough. Berwick determined to anticipate the movement which was expected on the side of Portugal; and himself at the beginning of May invaded that kingdom. He surprised and routed the body of Dutch troops commanded by General Fagel, and reduced the fortified towns of Castel Branco and Portalegre. But in part from the violent summer heats—in part from the misconduct of one of his Spanish divisions—and in part from the brave spirit of the Portuguese peasantry who rose in arms against the invaders—he could not pursue his conquests and found it necessary to march back into Spain.

This desultory warfare in Portugal gave rise to loud and well-founded complaints against the Duke of Schomberg—the incapable son of an illustrious sire. With

[8] Note to Burnet's History, vol. v. p. 165.

his small body of English troops he had remained on the southern bank of the Tagus and done little more than march them to and fro. The Court of Lisbon made a formal representation to St. James's before the campaign was over; and Marlborough was consulted on this affair as on most others, even in the midst of Germany. By his advice the Duke of Schomberg was at once recalled, and in his place was sent out the Earl of Galway. This was a Frenchman by birth, the Marquis de Ruvigny by name; who like the elder Schomberg had left his native country when the persecution of the Protestants commenced, and who like Schomberg also had received from the Sovereign of England both a commission in the army and a title in the peerage. CHAP. V. 1704.

There was warfare also on the opposite side of Spain. A fleet under Sir George Rooke sailed from Lisbon and appeared off Barcelona at the end of May. It had on board the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt with some five thousand land forces. The Prince who had been Governor of Catalonia during the last reign had kept up a secret correspondence with the malcontents of the province, and with them a rising was concerted. But his letters had held out the hope that he would bring to them the Archduke himself with 20,000 men, and seeing that he fell so far short of his promises they with good reason thought themselves released from theirs. Darmstadt proceeded to land his scanty troops and to throw a few bombs into the city, but he had no prospect of reducing it without the aid of insurrection and no insurrection came. After a brief interval he saw no better course before him than to reimbark his men and sail away.

On their return to the Streights from this inglorious expedition our seamen and soldiers came to be better employed. The chiefs resolved to attack Gibraltar, a fortress not as yet surrounded by skilful works and in which the Spaniards with their usual remissness at this

CHAP. V.

1704. period had left a garrison of less than one hundred men. Eighteen hundred under the Prince of Darmstadt were disembarked on the narrow strip of sand which connects the Rock of Gibraltar with the Spanish shore, and on the 12nd of August they began to bombard the place, while the Admiral at the same time opened a fire from his ships. Such was the natural strength of the position that it might have been for some days at least maintained. But the 3rd was as it chanced a Saint's Day, and the Spanish sentinels upon the rock forsook their station to go and hear Mass in the Churches. While they were praying for destruction to the heretics a party of English seamen scaled the eastern side of the precipice and obtained possession of the heights which overhang the fortress. Another party of sailors and marines stormed the South Mole Head; and the garrison capitulated, still however obtaining honourable terms. Darmstadt desired to hoist the Spanish colours and to proclaim the Archduke as the King of Spain, but Rooke resolutely interposed and took possession of the place as an English conquest, raising the English flag on those ramparts where to this day it proudly waves, never lowered nor struck down in the most formidable sieges by the united armaments of France and Spain.

The Prince of Darmstadt notwithstanding his recent claim for King Charles was left Governor of Gibraltar for Queen Anne with a garrison of 2,000 men. The Admiral proceeded to make a slight attempt on Ceuta, in which he did not prevail, and then sailed forward into the Mediterranean desiring to encounter the Count de Toulouse. The Count was one of the sons whom Madame de Montespan had borne to Louis the Fourteenth; the partiality of his father had named him High Admiral of France; and he was now in command of the fleet which had issued from Toulon. Rooke since he left Gibraltar had been joined by some Dutch ships bringing up his whole number as the French com-

pute it to 47 while the French themselves had 49. The two fleets met off the coast of Malaga on the 24th of August and engaged in a heavy cannonade, which was closed by the approach of night and which can scarcely be dignified with the name of a battle. If a battle at all it was a drawn one. Some thousand men were either killed or wounded, but no one ship was either sunk or taken.

On the 6th of July the Scottish Parliament reassembled. It had seemed wise to the Government to name a new Commissioner in the person of the Marquess of Tweeddale, but it was found that he throve no better than had the Marquess of Queensberry. The so-called Act of Security was again passed, almost without a show of resistance. Involving as it might on the demise of the Queen a separation of the Crowns of England and Scotland, a resolute Prime Minister would have for the second time refused it the Royal Assent. But Godolphin whose timidity increased with advancing years had come on all occasions to regard the nearer evil as the worse; and in pursuance of these views he gave authority to Tweeddale to touch with the Royal Sceptre the obnoxious Bill. It must be owned as some vindication of this yielding policy that the chief men in the Estates had declared themselves ready should the Queen's Assent be withheld to take an extreme course on their own side, and refuse to vote the funds for the support of the Scottish troops.[9]

On the 29th of October there met a more important assembly—the Parliament of England. The Queen in her opening Speech joyfully commemorated "the great and remarkable success with which God hath blessed our arms;" and congratulations were duly voted by both Houses though not quite in the same strain. The

[9] On a counter-plan to maintain if necessary an army in Scotland upon English pay see a letter from George Baillie of Jerviswood in the Marchmont Papers, vol. iii. p. 263.

CHAP. V.

1704.

Peers with their Whig tendencies expressed their admiration of the Blenheim victory and also of Her Majesty's "wisdom and courage in sending that seasonable and necessary assistance to the Empire." The Commons with their Tory tendencies that were warmly shown to their favourite Admiral seemed to depreciate the glorious achievement of the Duke of Marlborough by bestowing nearly similar praise on the indecisive cannonade of Sir George Rooke. Nevertheless the Lower House evinced much alacrity and readiness in voting the supplies for the vigorous prosecution of the war. These amounted to £4,670,000; a sum which was deemed enormous in that age and which had to be raised mainly by a Land Tax of four shillings in the pound, by continuing the Duties on Malt, and by the sale of nearly one million of Annuities.

The affairs of Scotland were among the first to engage the attention of Parliament. Lord Haversham introduced them in a set speech duly reported by himself, and the Peers resolved to consider them further on the 29th of November. Then the Queen came for the first time in her reign to hear the debates; she is described by an eyewitness as "at first on the Throne, and after, it being cold, on a bench at the fire."[1] She expected that her presence would moderate the attacks on the Lord Treasurer; nevertheless he was sharply aimed at both by Tories and Whigs—by Rochester and Nottingham no less than by Halifax and Somers. The Lord Treasurer made but a feeble defence; if we may trust Lord Dartmouth "he talked nonsense very fast, which was not his usual way either of matter or manner."[2] His fire indeed was nearly burned out; and it might almost be said of him that henceforth during the remainder of his life he played but a subordinate part in his own administration.

[1] Letter of Secretary Johnstone in the Jerviswood Correspondence, p. 15.

[2] Note to Burnet's History, vol. v. p. 182.

The question was resumed on the 6th of December and the Queen was present again. Lord Somers speaking as ever with the greatest weight and authority explained the specific measures which he thought required. He proposed a law to declare the Scots aliens, and to forbid the importation of their cattle—this law to commence after some interval and to determine whenever the Succession to the Crown of Scotland should be settled. This appeared to be the sense of the majority and a Bill to that effect was introduced. But the Lords went farther still. They carried an Address to her Majesty praying that Newcastle should be put into a condition of defence—that the port of Tynemouth should be secured—that the works at Carlisle and Hull should be repaired—that the Militia of the four northern counties should be disciplined and provided with arms and ammunition.

The Lower House fully concurred with the Upper. But the Bill of the Lords was found to contain some money penalties which—then perhaps for the first time in our annals—roused the jealousy of the Commons as seeming however remotely to invade their own taxing privileges. Therefore they preferred a Bill of their own which obtained the sanction of the other branch of the Legislature and became law in the course of the Session. It enacted that the Queen should be empowered to name Commissioners to treat of an Union with Scotland—that after Christmas Day 1705, unless the Succession to the Crown of Scotland should be decided by that time, every native of Scotland, not a settled inhabitant of England, nor serving in Her Majesty's forces, should be taken and held for an alien—that from the same date no Scotch cattle nor sheep should be brought into England, nor yet any Scotch coals, nor yet any Scotch linen.[3]

[3] Act 3 and 4 Anne, c. 7. It is entitled "An Act for the effectual securing the kingdom of England from the apparent dangers that may arise from several Acts lately passed in the Parliament of Scotland."

CHAP. V.

1704.

This Act was intended to put, and did put, considerable pressure on the Scots to conclude an Union. Thus dolefully do we find the Earl of Roxburgh for example write from London: "For my part I don't well know what to say; for unless our cattle and linen can be otherwise disposed of we are utterly ruined should these laws take effect."

The Tory party at this time were mainly intent on reviving their favourite measure, the Occasional Conformity Bill. It was brought in again with fiery haste only a few days from the beginning of the Session, and as before it passed through all its stages in the Commons. But it was foreseen that as before it would certainly be rejected by the Lords. To secure its passing its more violent promoters resolved to tack it to the new Land Tax Bill so that the Peers could not fling out the proposal of intolerance without losing the proposal of Supply. The "tackers," as they were termed, in their ardour to deal a blow on the Dissenters grew blind to the danger of striking also at the landmarks of the Constitution. Happily these were not the views of all. Harley and St. John now in office, wrought with success upon their friends in the Tory ranks. About a hundred members adhered to them on this occasion rather than to Nottingham; and thus when the division came the tackers were routed by the decisive majority of 251 against 134. It is worthy of note as a thing most unusual in that age and betokening the general interest which was felt upon this subject, that there was made public a detailed Division List—a statement showing county by county how each of its members had voted.

The Bill went therefore without any tack to the House of Lords, and the Queen was present at the debate upon the Second Reading which was long and well sustained. The Ministers had passed from lukewarm support into no very bold hostility; and Marl-

borough who had that very day returned from the Continent, gave like Godolphin a silent vote against the Bill. It was rejected by a much increased majority— 71 Peers against 50. 1704.

Marlborough who had left the Hague on the 11th of December, landed in London on the forenoon of the 14th. He brought in his train Marshal Tallard and the other General officers made captive at Blenheim. They were treated with all courtesy and sent to reside on parole at inland towns as Nottingham and Lichfield. The reception of Marlborough himself was such as beseemed his services. He was most warmly greeted by the Queen to whom he paid his respects that same morning at the palace of St. James's. Next day he received at his own house a Committee of the Commons who bore him an Address of Thanks which their House had voted; and when he appeared in the House of Lords he was welcomed by the Lord Keeper who read to him another like Address in the name of his brother Peers.

With Marlborough came over not only the principal captives, but the standards and other trophies that were taken at Blenheim. They were first placed for safety in the Tower but on the 3rd of January were removed in solemn procession to Westminster Hall. First came a troop of the Horse Grenadiers, next three companies of the Horse Guards; then in the centre thirty-four gentlemen each carrying a standard taken from the enemy; and lastly a battalion of the Foot Guards; the pikemen to the number of 128 each bearing aloft in the place of his pike one of the enemy's colours. In this manner they marched through the City, the Strand, and by St. James's Palace, where the Queen from one of the windows viewed them pass, and thus through St. James's Park to Westminster Hall, while the guns in the Park, forty in number, fired their loud salute and the assembled multitudes poured forth their scarcely less loud acclamations. It was, and it was felt to be, 1705.

CHAP. V. 1705.

the greatest triumph over foreign foes, that England ever had to celebrate since the rout of the Spanish Armada.[4]

Three days later Marlborough was entertained in Goldsmiths' Hall by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen. According to the far different habits and hours of that period he set out for this dinner about noon. He was conveyed in one of Her Majesty's coaches, in which there sat with him the Lord Treasurer, the Duke of Somerset Master of the Horse, and the Prince of Hesse so lately his companion in arms. The Royal carriage was followed by a long train of other coaches conveying the Foreign Ministers and many Englishmen of rank, as also the Generals and other chief officers of the army. At Temple Bar they were received in ancient form by the City Marshal and both in going and returning the hero of Blenheim was enthusiastically cheered by the crowds that lined the way.

Other and more substantial rewards ensued. The Commons had voted an Address to the Queen praying her to consider of proper means to perpetuate the memory of the great services performed by the Duke of Marlborough. In reply the Queen declared herself inclined to bestow upon the Duke the Royal manor and honor of Woodstock, at the same time desiring the assistance of the House to clear off the encumbrances on that estate, its rents and profits having been already granted for two lives. The Commons cheerfully agreed. A Bill was passed through both Houses without one

[4] Complete History of Europe, 1705, p. 7. Here are some of the devices and mottoes of the French standards borne aloft on this occasion. An eagle flying in the air. *In regnum et pugnas* (To reign and to fight). A Granado Shell. *Concussus surgo* (Though burst I rise). A plain white standard. *Victoria pinget* (Victory shall paint my device). A bomb. *Alter post fulmina terror* (The terror next to thunder). An eagle shot at on all sides by thunderbolts. *Audentior* (The bolder still). A rocket let off. *Poco duri purchè s' inalzi* (Let it last ever so little so it but rises).

dissentient voice to settle this noble domain free of charge on Marlborough and his heirs for ever, as a feudal tenure from the Crown, on the sole condition as the Act itself describes it of "rendering to Her Majesty and her successors on the second day of August in every year for ever at the Castle of Windsor one Standard or Colours with three Flowers de Luces painted thereupon." It should be noticed that the 2nd of August was the anniversary of the great battle on the Danube when reckoned by the Old instead of the New Style. This feudal tenure is continued at the present day; and the yearly standard of Woodstock may be seen at Windsor Castle ranged side by side with the yearly standard of Strathfieldsaye.

Nor was this all. The Queen gave orders to construct at her expense a stately palace in the park of Woodstock which should bear the name of Blenheim and be a lasting record of her own and the nation's gratitude. Her Majesty having approved the model the work was at once commenced under the direction of Mr. Vanbrugh, afterwards Sir John. His merits as an architect were highly extolled in his lifetime but at present are more commonly viewed in the light of the sarcastic epitaph composed at his decease.[5]

The Court of Vienna was no less desirous to show some token of respect to the deliverer of Germany. Marlborough received the title of Prince and a few months later the grant of the principality of Mindelheim in Suabia. The principality was lost at the peace; but to this day the heir of Blenheim is entitled to quarter his armorial bearings on the two-headed eagle of the Germanic Empire, while below stands his Motto in Spanish: FIEL PERO DESDICHADO—"faithful but unfortunate." This Motto was first assumed by the great Duke's father Sir Winston, when oppressed as a staunch

[5] Lie heavy on him, Earth, for he
Laid many a heavy load on thee.

CHAP. V. 1705.

Cavalier in the Civil Wars; but in both the epithets it was certainly most inapplicable to the great Duke's own career.

The ascendancy of Marlborough in England was further shown by the conduct of the Government in reference to Rooke. We have seen how the Tory House of Commons at the beginning of the Session had drawn some kind of parallel between the encounter at Malaga and the victory at Blenheim. A similar course was pursued by the Tory University of Oxford. Early in January there came up a Deputation, headed by the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Delaune to lay before the Queen a printed copy of the speeches and verses recited in the Theatre on New Year's Day. In the Address which they bore they observed that the exercise performed in their Theatre "was in honour of the great success of Her Majesty's arms the last year in Germany under the admirable conduct and invincible courage of the Duke of Marlborough and at sea under the most brave and faithful Admiral Sir George Rooke," and it classed both the actions together, both being they said "as beneficial as they were glorious." The Queen gave a cold reply and the Duke's friends were much offended. It was felt moreover that observing how very nearly equal in force Rooke had been to Toulouse, and bearing in mind how constantly the English had prevailed at sea, his distant and doubtful cannonade rendered him liable to censure rather than entitled to praise. At this juncture then it was announced that Prince George, as Lord High Admiral, had superseded Rooke as Commander-in-Chief of the fleet, naming in his place Sir Cloudesley Shovel and for Vice-Admiral Sir John Leake. Both these officers it should be noted belonged to the Whig party.

This Session of Parliament after the Christmas holidays was continued for several weeks, but these were almost wholly consumed in disputes and altercations

arising from the Aylesbury case of the preceding year. Since Matthew Ashby the Constables of the Borough had been sued by four other inhabitants for denying them the right to vote. These four persons were committed to Newgate by order of the House of Commons. They moved for an Habeas Corpus in the Court of Queen's Bench, but three of the Judges, against the opinion of Holt their chief, decided that the Court could take no cognizance of the matter. Upon this Paty and Oviat two of the prisoners petitioned the Queen for a Writ of Error to bring this question before the Lords.

Both Houses showed equal zeal in this cause though in exactly opposite directions. The Commons not only voted an Address to the Queen against granting a Writ of Error but for greater security removed the prisoners to the custody of their own Serjeant at Arms. The Lords passed six different Resolutions against the conduct of the Commons, which they said was an obstruction to justice and contrary to Magna Charta. Conferences took place between the Houses but without any reconcilement, and the heats on both sides were rapidly rising, when the other business of the Session being now concluded, the Session itself was closed on the 14th of March. The Queen in her final Speech alleged "our own unreasonable humour and animosity, the fatal effects of which we have so narrowly escaped." This allusion was well-understood as referring to the intended tack on the Land Tax Bill.

Parliament being now close on its triennial period was dissolved on the 5th of April, and a Proclamation calling another was issued on the 23rd. The Queen and Prince availed themselves of the interval to pay a visit to Newmarket and from thence by invitation to Cambridge. There she was received with as many tokens of attachment as greeted Her Majesty at Oxford in the preceding year. At a mile from the town she was met by the Mayor and Aldermen with the Earl of

CHAP. V. 1705.

Orford their High Steward and Sir John Cotton their Recorder, who in the name of the whole body made Her Majesty a speech and presented her with a purse of gold. In the town itself the Queen found the scholars ranged along the streets in their caps and gowns and welcoming her approach with joyful acclamations, not however in English but in Latin—VIVAT REGINA—so as to display both their loyalty and learning. The ways were all along strewn with flowers; the bells rang, and the conduits flowed with wine. In the "Regent Walk" which led to the Schools Her Majesty was received by the Duke of Somerset as Chancellor at the head of the Doctors in their Robes. After sustaining one speech from His Grace, and another from Mr. Ayloffe the Public Orator, the Queen entered the "Regent House" and saw the Degrees of Doctor in Divinity and Law conferred on some eminent men. Thence repairing to Trinity College the Queen heard another speech from the Master, Dr. Bentley, and conferred the honour of knighthood on several persons, among whom we find commemorated "Isaac Newton, formerly Mathematic Professor and Fellow of that College." Then about three hundred ladies were admitted to kiss Her Majesty's hand. Next she was entertained at dinner in Trinity College Hall and at the expense of the University. She sat upon a throne erected five foot high; and for the other guests there were four large tables with fifty covers each. In the afternoon Her Majesty visited also St. John's College and Queen's, and attended prayers in King's College Chapel; then setting forth again she returned to Newmarket the same night.[6]

Marlborough was at this time in Holland having embarked at Harwich on the 31st of March. By his letters

[6] Complete History of Europe, 1705, p. 159. The University had found itself obliged to borrow 500*l.* for the purpose of this entertainment. *Grace Book*, April 2, 1705, as cited in Monk's Life of Bentley.

however he could still counsel and guide Godolphin with respect to the coming elections. He advised that any members who had voted for the tack should be if possible unseated. Thus he writes: "As to what you say of the tackers I think the method that should be taken is what is practised in all armies, that is if the enemy give no quarter they should have none given to them."[7]

But the case of the Government was full as strong against those non-tacking Tories in the Government ranks, who while they retained office entirely concurred, and secretly caballed, with Nottingham and Rochester. Foremost among these was Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. Marlborough and Godolphin had some months before come to the resolution that he should be removed. That resolution was now carried out with the reluctant assent of the Queen; and the Privy Seal taken from him was bestowed on the Duke of Newcastle, who was one of the Whig party.

It was indeed to the Whigs that Marlborough and Godolphin were now by slow degrees inclining. They had been in some negotiation more or less direct through the winter with the knot of five Whig Peers — the Junto as it was commonly called—which governed the Whig party at that time. The members of this Junto were Somers and Halifax, Orford, Wharton and Sunderland. Of these five, the first four have been portrayed by Lord Macaulay with his usual felicity, and I may add with entire fairness.[8] He does not for example seek in any manner to disguise the fact that Wharton was a man of profligate life and an open scoffer at Revealed Religion. It may be added that as such he was in especial disfavour with the Queen.

Charles Earl of Sunderland did not fall within the

[7] Letter of April 14, 1705.

[8] See in the fourth volume of his History, for Russell (Lord Orford), p. 54, for Somers, p. 447, for Montague (Lord Halifax), p. 451, and for Wharton, p. 456.

CHAP. V.

scope of Lord Macaulay's narrative. I have at some length sketched that character elsewhere.[9]

1705. In their negotiations during the past winter with these powerful "Five," Marlborough and Godolphin had been drawn into a promise, not perhaps quite consistent with fairness to one of their present colleagues. It was to take some convenient opportunity of dismissing Sir Nathan Wright from the office of Lord Keeper and transferring the Great Seal to William Cowper, who was endeared to the Whig chiefs by eminent qualities no less than by party ties.

There were also at this time not only in promise but performance several crumbs of State patronage bestowed on younger Whigs. Thus Walpole, afterwards the great Sir Robert but then only at the outset of his busy career, was appointed one of the Council to the Lord High Admiral, at the especial recommendation of Marlborough. In the army and navy also the same predilection might be traced. Of Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir John Leake I have already spoken. Sir George Byng another officer like them, that is not only of tried merit but of Whig politics, was placed at the head of the Channel Fleet. Colonel James Stanhope was made a Brigadier General; and Lord Cutts was sent to command the forces in Ireland under the Duke of Ormond.

The favourite object of the Whigs at this time was however to find some Cabinet office for the Earl of Sunderland. As son-in-law of Marlborough they thought that if once in place he might ere long attain considerable influence and draw in others of the party after him. They had already made a convert of the Duchess. Her letters during the past year or longer still were filled with railing against the Tories, not unmixed with some reflections on her husband for the more

[9] History since the Peace of Utrecht, vol. i. p. 353. At page 309 there is also a character of Lord Somers.

than indifference which he showed to their son-in-law's promotion. Indifference to promotion was by no means in general the fault of Marlborough, nor yet resistance to the wishes of his wife. But in this case he paused. Sunderland he knew was at this juncture held to be impetuous and extreme by the Whigs themselves; and he feared lest his nomination to some high office of home Government might lead Harley and the other Ministerial Tories to break away from him. His object and Godolphin's, so far as we can trace it, was rather at this juncture to proceed most cautiously and step by step until they saw the result of the General Election.

That result was soon made clear. The Tories went to the hustings divided and perplexed, as tackers or non-tackers, as members or as opponents of the Ministry. The Whigs, even when they might be inferior in numbers, were compact, united and hopeful. In party watchwords also the Whigs had this time the advantage. From the loss of the Occasional Conformity Bill the Tories raised the cry of the Church in danger, but except among the clergy produced no great effect. The Whigs on the other hand might point to the glorious triumphs of the last campaign as following the policy and fulfilling the aspirations of their hero William the Third. It is not strange therefore that the latter party prevailed in these elections. Wherever there was any contest of a political character and detached from family influence the Whig candidates for the most part were returned.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAP. VI.

1705.

MARLBOROUGH was three weeks at the Hague before he could obtain the consent of the Dutch States to his plan for the next campaign. That plan had been concerted with Prince Eugene during the siege of Landau. It was to invade France on the side of the Moselle where in the judgment of Marlborough her northern frontier was the least defensible. Early in the spring the two armies assembling between the Moselle and the Saar were to commence the siege of Saar-Louis and to open a communication with the Duke of Lorraine, who was overawed by his mighty neighbour but who at heart inclined to the Allies. It was with a view to this design that Marlborough had directed his final operations in the preceding year by taking Treves and Trarbach and quartering his army in the vale of the Moselle.

Louis on his part was not unprepared for such a scheme on the part of the Allies. He had made strenuous and successful efforts to fill up the void both in men and in equipments which the day of Blenheim had caused; and the superiority of numbers was still upon his side. He was able to allege in one of his secret letters dated the 15th of May: "My enemies have not so much infantry as there is in my armies of Flanders, of the Moselle and of the Rhine; though in cavalry they are as near as may be equal."[1] The troubles in Languedoc being now appeased he summoned Villars from that province and entrusted him with the command on the Moselle. Villeroy he left in Flanders, and Marsin in Alsace.

[1] Mémoires militaires de la Succession d'Espagne, vol. v. p. 415, ed. 1842.

CHAP. VI.

1705.

When Marlborough therefore, having at last extorted the tardy consent of the Dutch States, appeared at the head of his troops on the Moselle, he found in his front an able General and a large well-appointed army. Worse still, he had no longer Prince Eugene at his side. That great chief had been sent by the Emperor to command in Italy, and Marlborough was yoked once again to the untoward Margrave of Baden. It was in vain that Marlborough solicited the co-operation which had been stipulated. Prince Louis remained immoveable in his palace of Rastadt near Baden, sometimes pleading his own illness and sometimes the deficiencies of his troops.

It was at this juncture that news came of the decease of the Emperor Leopold at Vienna on the 5th of May. Marlborough hoped that a more vigorous system might be pursued by the King of the Romans now the Emperor Joseph. But after a short show of activity it soon relapsed into the old torpid system of routine. In compliance however with Marlborough's earnest application an order was sent to Prince Louis to expedite his movements, and Marlborough himself repaired to Rastadt in hopes of conciliating his colleague. He took care to admire the formal palace which the Margrave had built and the trim alleys he had planted. Nor were such courtesies without effect. The Margrave promised that he would begin his march on a day that he named. But he pointed out that the force he would bring must be very scanty; since the Court of Vienna, unmindful of its positive stipulations for the quota of troops and looking mainly to its more immediate objects in Hungary and Italy, had called back the best part of its army from the Rhine and left the remnant extremely ill supplied.

Slight as were the hopes of any effective co-operation which Prince Louis gave they were much more

CHAP. VI. 1705.

than he accomplished. When the time came he declared himself sick, threw up his command, and set off to drink the waters of Schlangenbad. Count de Frise whom he named in his place brought to Marlborough only a few ragged battalions, and moreover like his principal showed himself most jealous of the English chief. To add to Marlborough's difficulties at this juncture the person, Sentery by name, who had been employed all through the winter to superintend the magazines of bread and forage suddenly fled to the enemy, when it was discovered that he had embezzled the money and that the magazines were not half filled.

Marlborough nevertheless took the field and even singly desired to give battle. But positive instructions from Versailles precluded Villars from engaging. He intrenched himself in an extremely strong position at Sirk where it was impossible for an inferior army to assail him. And while the war was thus unprosperous on the Moselle there came adverse tidings from the Meuse. Marshal Villeroy had suddenly resumed the offensive, had reduced the fortress of Huy, had entered the city and invested the citadel of Liege. In great alarm the Dutch General Overkirk despatched his colleague Hompesch to Marlborough with most pressing applications for immediate aid; and Marlborough with so many Dutch troops in his army saw the necessity for his compliance. Accordingly he set out the very next day on his march to Liege, leaving only a sufficient force as he hoped for the security of Treves.

The chagrin of Marlborough at this period rose to the height of anguish, as may best be shown by some extracts as follows from his private correspondence. Thus to Godolphin, on June the 16th: "I have for these last ten days been so troubled by the many disappointments I have had, that I think if it were possible to vex me so for a fortnight longer it would make an end

of me. In short I am weary of my life." And again on the 24th: "I beg you will give my humble duty to the Queen, and assure her that nothing but my gratitude to her could oblige me to serve her after the disappointments I have met with in Germany, for nothing has been performed that was promised; and to add to this they write to me from England that the tackers and all their friends are glad of the disappointments I meet with, saying that if I had success this year like the last the Constitution of England would be ruined. As I have no other ambition but that of serving well Her Majesty, and being thought what I am a good Englishman, this vile enormous faction of theirs vexes me so much that I hope the Queen will after this campaign give me leave to retire and end my days in praying for her prosperity and making my own peace with God. . . . I beg you will not oppose this, thinking it may proceed at this time from the spleen; I do assure you it does not, but it is from the base ingratitude of my countrymen." . . . .

The Great Duke when he wrote these bitter lines was more especially chafed by the news that came to him from his rear. M. d'Aubach, whom he had left in command at Treves, was scared at the advance of a small French detachment, and retired without a blow from both Treves and Saarbrück, leaving our best magazines in possession of the enemy. On the other hand he had the satisfaction of learning that his own advance had produced nearly the same effect on Marshal Villeroy. That chief at once relinquished his design upon the citadel of Liege and fell back in the direction of Tongres, so that Marlborough and Overkirk effected their junction with ease. Marlborough took prompt measures to re-invest the fortress of Huy and compelled it to surrender on the 11th of July.

Applying his mind to the new sphere before him, Marlborough saw ground to hope that with the aid of

CHAP. VI.

1705.

the Dutch troops he might still make a triumphant campaign. The first object was to force the defensive lines that stretched across the country from near Namur to Antwerp, protected by numerous fortified posts and covered in other places by rivers and morasses. They had been constructed by the French in the earlier years of the war, and were now defended by an army of at least 60,000 men under Marshal Villeroy and the Elector of Bavaria. Marlborough laid his plans before Generals Overkirk and Slangenberg as also those civilian envoys whom the States were wont to commission at their armies. But he found to his sorrow that for jealousy and slowness a Dutch deputy was fully a match for a German Margrave.

Having with great difficulty obtained that obedience to his orders which in a better regulated service would have ensued as a matter of course, Marlborough was enabled to make his intended attack at daybreak on the 18th of July. The point he had selected was on the banks of the Little Gheet, where the enemy deemed the position so strong as to have left it very bare of troops. A sudden onset from Marlborough here broke through the defences and scattered the defenders, while in the skirmish and surprise which followed he took more than 1,200 prisoners. Thus were the French lines forced to the utter surprise of the Dutch chiefs. To these last the Duke refers as follows in writing to Godolphin: "The bearer will tell you that I was forced to cheat them into this action, for they did not believe I would attack the lines; they being positive that the enemy were stronger than they were." To the Duchess he adds: "I had no troops with me in this last action but such as were with me last year; for M. Overkirk's army did not come till an hour after all was over. This was not their fault for they could not come sooner; but this gave occasion to the troops with me to make me very kind expressions, even in the heat of the action,

which I own to you gives me great pleasure and makes me resolve to endure any thing for their sakes."

Having thus successfully broke through the lines so laboriously constructed Marlborough was most eager to pursue his advantage. But the heavy rains which fell during the next following days completely flooded the meadows along the Dyle and debarred him from attempting the passage of that river. Meanwhile the French chiefs had leisure to recover from their first surprise, and the Dutch—General Slangenberg especially who had a personal spleen against him—to frame anew their cavils and objections.

The floods having subsided and the fair weather returned Marlborough wrought so far upon the Generals and Deputies that they agreed to an attack of the French army now encamped on the opposite side of the Dyle. The attack was made accordingly on the 30th of July, the troops being well provided with pontoons. The Dutch were on the left, and General Heukelom who commanded their first division not only led the whole of his infantry across the Dyle but drove three brigades of the enemy from their post at the village of Neer Ische. The object in view, that is the passage of the river, was thus accomplished, and it was only needful to support with steadiness the advantage which Heukelom had bravely gained. Just at this crisis however an unaccountable doubt or demur was conceived by the Dutch chiefs as to the propriety of moving onward to the support of their first line. Marlborough who was advancing at the head of his own army was apprised of their hesitation and instantly despatched an aide-de-camp to urge upon them the necessity of succouring or if they would not of recalling Heukelom. He soon followed with all speed to add his own entreaties.

The scene that ensued has been well described by Mr. Hare, the Army Chaplain, who that day was on horse-

CHAP. VI. 1705.

back and in attendance on the Duke. Marlborough as he tells us riding up to the spot where the Dutch chiefs were holding council was about to exhort them for the immediate support of their detachment, when Slangenberg exclaiming, "For God's sake, my Lord Duke, do not"— took him aside and continued for some time to address him with much gesticulation as if dissuading him from so hazardous an enterprise.[2] During this colloquy the other Dutchmen took it on themselves to send their own orders to Heukelom; and the purport of those orders may be guessed. Heukelom accordingly retreated, as did also another detachment which had already passed the river. They were little pressed by the enemy; and the entire loss of the Allies this day fell short of fifty men. But their object had been frustrated, and they were not beyond the Dyle.

Marlborough was deeply moved. Thus he wrote to England: "It is very mortifying to find much more obstructions from friends than from enemies; but that is now the case with me; and yet I dare not show my resentment for fear of too much alarming the Dutch." The latter motive indeed so far prevailed with him that in the official letter which he sent to the States of Holland he ascribed the retreat only to the head of the enemy's army having come up in force. Yet he did not leave the ruling men in ignorance of the fault of their officers. He sent General Hompesch to the Hague with a private letter to Heinsius stating the real fact and complaining especially of Slangenberg. As he explains it to Godolphin, "besides the danger of resolving every thing that is to be done in a Council of War which cannot be kept so secret, so Monsieur Slangenberg, though he is a brave man his temper is such that there is no taking measures with him."

In relation to the affair at Neer Ische no letter at all from Marlborough appeared in the London Gazette.

[2] Hare's Narrative, MS. from the extract in Coxe's Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 156.

The Tories and other malcontents in England made the best use they could of this slight check—since how few others could they find! However, they did not very well agree in their complaints. Some declared that the Duke was too rash in making the advance; others that he was too cautious in allowing the retreat.

After this recent failure it was felt by Marlborough that it was hopeless to propose any renewed attempt to force the passage of the Dyle. His fertile genius devised another scheme—to move round the sources of the river and to threaten Brussels from the southern side. As this movement would separate him from his magazines he found it necessary to halt in his camp at Meldert till he could procure a sufficient supply of bread, and during the interval he celebrated with thanksgiving and rejoicing the anniversary of the battle of Blenheim. On the 15th of August he began his march as did also Overkirk in a parallel direction, and in two days they reached Genappe near the sources of the Dyle. There uniting in one line of battle they moved next morning towards Brussels by the main CHAUSSÉE or great paved road; their head-quarters that day being fixed at Frischermont, near the borders of the forest of Soignies.

On the French side the Elector and Villeroy observing the march of the Allies had made a corresponding movement of their own for the protection of the capital. They encamped behind the small stream of the Ische, their right and rear being partly covered by the forest. Only the day before they had been joined by Marsin from the Rhine, and they agreed to give battle sooner than yield Brussels. One of their main posts was at Waterloo, which was held by Colonel Pasteur with two regiments of dragoons and one battalion from Béarn; and here ensued a slight skirmish, not to the advantage of Pasteur, with the advanced guard of the Allies; but "Waterloo is a bad post as I have already

CHAP. VI.

explained to your Majesty." So wrote Villeroy to Louis.[3]

1705. It is probable had a battle now ensued, that it would have been fought on the same or nearly the same ground as was the memorable conflict a hundred and ten years afterwards. But the position of the armies would have been reversed, since at the earlier date, as I have shown, the French defended Brussels upon which the English and Dutch were marching. More than once have I heard the Duke of Wellington advert with much interest to this singular coincidence or contrast, of which he had carefully studied the details.

But the expected battle did not take place. On the morning of the 18th of August Marlborough rode forward to reconnoitre the enemy's army, which according to his computation was fully by one-third less in numbers than his own. He discovered also, as he thought, in their position four practicable points for an attack. As he was viewing one of these points, which in his judgment was the weakest of all, he found his party aimed at by the fire of some French artillery; but his usual composure was not ruffled, and he only said with a smile to the officers around him: "These gentlemen do not choose to have this spot too narrowly inspected."

Marlborough came back in high spirits and confident of victory. He met Overkirk, who in his company examined the ground again, and fully approved his intended dispositions. By this time (it was past midday) the Allied troops were ranged in battle order within cannon shot of the enemy. The Duke was eager to give the signal for an onset. But the Deputies were quite as eager to interpose. They declared that they could not give their assent to an engagement until they had consulted their Generals, and except Over-

[3] See the Mémoires militaires de la Succession d'Espagne, vol. v. p. 600, ed. 1842.

kirk all the Dutch chiefs thus being consulted declared that the French positions were too strong to be assailed. "Murder and massacre!" cried Slangenberg especially at the head of the malcontents. A small circle was formed, and hour after hour wasted in starting doubts and difficulties, while Marlborough was observed standing by in an agony of impatience. At last after one more survey of the ground the opinion of Slangenberg prevailed, and Marlborough with a heavy heart gave orders for the troops to return to their respective quarters.

Next morning the enemy had strengthened his position; the Dutch chiefs continued obdurate; and the troops could remain no longer at gaze. The supply of bread which they had brought with them was running short; and if they did not advance to Brussels they must fall back on their magazines. Orders were issued accordingly that they should commence their retreat on that same day; and in this manner they marched back to their former camp at Meldert. To the States Marlborough wrote an official report in measured terms, but he added a postscript as follows which was published with the rest: "My heart is so full that I cannot forbear representing to Your High Mightinesses that I find my authority here to be much less than when I had the honour to command your troops in Germany." And in his private letter to Godolphin we find: "I beg you will give my duty to the Queen, and assure her that if I had the same power I had the last year I should have had a greater victory than that of Blenheim in my opinion; for the French were so posted that if we had beat them they could not have got to Brussels."

It is not surprising after these events that the French, unacquainted with all the circumstances, should be tempted to disparage their principal antagonist. "You will easily persuade me"—Chamillart remarks to Villeroy—"to have but an indifferent opinion of the

CHAP. VI. 1705.

capacity of the Duke of Marlborough. What he has done this campaign clearly shows that we rated him far too highly after the battle of Hochstädt, which he appears to have gained by his good fortune rather than his genius."[4] So wrote the Ministers in France.

The Ministers in England were much—and surely with good reason—offended. They resolved to send one of their own number, Lord Pembroke, President of the Council, to the Hague, to complain of Slangenberg and the Deputies, and to remonstrate against the system of divided command. But Heinsius, Slingelandt, and other staunch friends of England who were consulted, saw that such a step would give general offence, and Marlborough himself dissuaded it. Lord Pembroke therefore remained at home, and the Dutch were induced of themselves to send a rebuke to their Deputies, and to recall Slangenberg from his command.

But by this time the opportunity had passed: The campaign from which so much had been expected was over. The army after its return to the camp of Meldert did no more than reduce the petty fort of Leuwe, and with some amount of labour level the French lines. This period was however signalised by a feat of arms upon the Rhine. Prince Louis so long inactive roused himself as by a sudden effort and succeeded in surprising Drusenheim, forcing the lines of Haguenau, and blockading Fort Louis. This exploit came too late in the season to assist in any material manner the cause of the Allies. But it stood in good stead to Prince Louis himself. The English Government under the guidance of Marlborough was at this very period endeavouring to obtain from the Court of Vienna the recall of the Margrave from his command. It was from the first no very hopeful negotiation since the Margrave had the honour to be first cousin to the first Minister; and

[4] Letter dated Versailles, September 5, 1705.

at the news of Haguenau, Marlborough at once desired that no further effort against him should be made.

1705.

In northern Italy the gallant defence of Verona had been continued through the winter; and it was not till the 10th of April that the place surrendered. The siege of Chivasso was in like manner protracted by the brave spirit of the garrison. Thus during this year's campaign the Duke of Savoy was enabled to make head against La Feuillade, as could also in Lombardy Prince Eugene against Vendome. The two last chiefs came to a pitched battle on the 16th of August at the bridge of Cassano; it was fierce and well contested, and both parties claimed the victory. Through all this warfare the Allies derived very great advantage from the auxiliary force of 8,000 Prussians which Marlborough had negotiated, but their stipulated term of service was only for one year, and their King had threatened that it should not be renewed.

Passing to more southern climes we find the Spanish Court which had so negligently guarded Gibraltar most keenly resent its loss. A body of 8,000 men was at once employed to invest it; and the siege was continued all through the winter, directed first by the Spanish Marquis de Villadarias, and then by the French Maréchal de Tessé. There was also a French squadron under Baron de Pontis sent forward to complete the blockade. But the Prince of Darmstadt made a most brave defence, and no progress was made by the besiegers either on land and sea. At length, early in the spring, came in sight Admiral Leake with a well-appointed squadron from England. Attacking the French ships he took some and dispersed the rest; and on this event the land-forces of the enemy were also withdrawn.—On the other hand the campaign of the Allies was but feebly conducted on the side of Portugal; and they throve no better in their siege of Badajos than had the French in their siege of Gibraltar.

CHAP. VI.

1705. A new turn, however, was given to Peninsular affairs by the appearance of another actor on the scene. This was Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough, or Peterborow as it was always spelled by himself. He was now forty-six years of age and hitherto distinguished mainly by his wild adventures and his fickle amours. Marlborough with his usual sagacity had discerned the latent genius for war which lurked in this eccentric man, and had singled him out to command the fresh auxiliary force which was to be despatched from England. That force consisted of about 5,000 men, one-third Dutch and two-thirds English; it was collected at Portsmouth; and with Peterborough on board reached Lisbon on the 20th of June. The first object assigned to the Earl in his instructions was to relieve the Duke of Savoy, who had been loudly calling for aid against the French, but he was allowed a discretionary power if he should rather choose some enterprise on the coast of Spain; and while with sole authority over the land-forces he owed it to his rank perhaps that he was associated with Sir Cloudesley Shovel as joint Admiral of the fleet.

Such ample authority, so wide discretionary powers, were well suited to the genius of Peterborough. With a bit in his mouth or a spur in his flank he never failed to kick and plunge. But give him the bridle and his inborn mettle appeared. As a subaltern he was heedless of orders. As a colleague he was ever discontented, ever railing. As a chief, on the contrary, he achieved some splendid successes. The same impetuosity of temper which made him overlook an obstacle enabled him also in many cases to overleap it. He was in truth, as Lord Macaulay has well called him, "the last of the Knights Errant." Ever ready to engage in any romantic adventure, either of love or war, and constant to no one person as to no one place, he too often found the reputation which he had earned

by his exploits dimmed by his public and his private follies.[5]

Peterborough, when he arrived at Lisbon, found the Archduke Charles pining at the languor of the Portuguese campaign. His Majesty, as he was termed by his allies, though not as yet acknowledged on one foot of Spanish ground, resolved to quit that inactive scene and to join the English Earl. Embarking accordingly with a large train of attendants the young Prince gave occasion to Peterborough to show his characteristic generosity. During the whole voyage he entertained his guest magnificently and at his own expense, yielding him all honours as to the King of Spain. At Gibraltar they also took on board the Prince of Darmstadt and some veterans from the garrison, and nearly at the same time they were joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel with the remaining ships and a few more soldiers. Even after these accessions the whole of the land-forces fit for service amounted to no more than seven thousand men.

From Gibraltar the expedition touched next at the bay of Altea in the kingdom of Valencia. There the appearance of a young Prince of the Austrian line raised, as had been expected, considerable enthusiasm in his favour. The country people gathered on the shore with shouts of welcome; and the garrison of the neighbouring fort of Denia surrendered at the first summons. It was there that Charles was proclaimed, for the first time by any Spaniards, as King of Spain.

So favourable seemed the opportunity that Peterborough was eager to pursue it. He observed that the

[5] Lord Peterborough is well sketched by Swift in some lively lines beginning: "Mordanto fills the trump of fame" (Works, vol. xiv. p. 67.) Pope's opinion may be gathered from Spence's Anecdotes (p. 294), and the whole is ably summed up by Lord Macaulay (Essays, vol. ii. p. 68). A small volume of Peterborough's confidential letters in Spain was printed in 1834, but only for private circulation, and to the number of fifty copies. I have made great use of it. My own character of Peterborough is given in vol. i. p. 520 of my History of England.

CHAP. VI.

1705.

troops of Philip were either at Barcelona where they expected an attack, or on the Portugal frontier where they carried on a campaign. At the capital there were only some squadrons of horse, acting as guards to the King and Queen. No force and only one fortified place lay between the English General and the city of Madrid. It might therefore be practicable for him to push forward with his seven thousand men, and by one bold stroke seat the Archduke in the centre of Castille. Judging from the events of the next few months we may affirm that this design at such a juncture and in such a country held out no inconsiderable chances of success.

But so daring a march could certainly not be undertaken in opposition to the wishes of the Prince whose interests it was designed to serve. Charles, from the time of his being joined by the Prince of Darmstadt, had constantly inclined to the counsels of his countryman, and Darmstadt in this year as in the former, overrating his own influence among the Catalans, was wholly intent on the siege of Barcelona. Peterborough urged with great warmth how far from promising was that design; but a Council of War being called he found it requisite to yield; the troops were re-embarked and to Barcelona they sailed.

The difficulties however proved to be of the most formidable kind. Barcelona was strongly defended by regular works, besides which it had the sea on one side and on another the castled crag of Montjuich—the MONS JOVIS of the Romans, and the MONS JUDAICUS of the middle ages when it was the dwelling-place of the Jews.[6] At this period moreover the garrison that held it was fully equal to the force that would besiege it. The Allied troops when set on shore and encamped at some distance from the city suffered severely from the mid-

[6] See the excellent description in Ford's Handbook, vol. i. p. 492, ed. 1845. "The present name," he observes, "may be derived from either of the former appellations."

summer heats; and far from any general rising in their favour were joined only by some few hundred ragged Miquelets. And while the soldiers were sickening the chiefs disputed. Charles and the Germans around him pressed for an attack upon the city at all risks and against any odds. The Dutch General exclaimed against the notion, and declared that not one of his men should stir on such a service. Peterborough railed fiercely against Darmstadt and Darmstadt retorted with no less warmth on Peterborough. Such was the animosity that the Earl and Prince were no longer on speaking terms.

Three weeks passed and nothing at all had been achieved — nay nothing attempted. Even the most sanguine began to own that the enterprise was hopeless. It was reluctantly determined to proceed to Italy and resume the first design of aiding Victor Amadeus. Already was the heavy cannon sent on board. Already had the troops been ordered to prepare for their own embarkation. So certain seemed the prospect that on this same day the 12th of September there were entertainments and public rejoicings in Barcelona to celebrate the raising of the siege and the departure of the heretics.

At this very crisis however the genius of Peterborough was intent on a most daring scheme for a COUP DE MAIN. He had closely examined the defences of Montjuich attended by no person but a single aide-de-camp; and had convinced himself that the garrison confiding in the strength of their rock had grown neglectful of their duty. On this conviction his hopes depended. To no one around him, not even to his closest friends, did he impart any previous hint of his design. Only that night he bade a chosen few—twelve hundred English foot and two hundred English horse —stand to their arms or mount and follow him. Another thousand was entrusted by him to General Stan-

CHAP. VI. 1705.

hope as second in command. These were to form the reserve and to take post at a convent midway between the camp and the city.

At midnight then the Earl at the head of his small force suddenly appeared at the quarters of the Prince of Darmstadt with whom for the past fortnight he had not exchanged a word. The Prince rose in some surprise to greet his unexpected visitor. "I have determined, Sir" said Peterborough "to make this night an attempt upon the enemy. You may now if you please come with us, and see whether I and my men really deserve the ill character which you of late have thought fit to give us." Darmstadt, much surprised, at once called for his horse, and thus they rode on together.

Peterborough led his troops by a winding march along the foot of the hills, till within a quarter of a mile of the works of Montjuich. There he ranged them in order for the coming conflict—selecting for himself and Darmstadt the enterprise of the greatest danger, the storming of a bastion on the Barcelona side. At the first break of day they marched up to the assault. The Spaniards then first descrying them poured on them a heavy fire which the English sustained nothing daunted and still advanced; and upon this the enemy came down to meet them in the outer ditch. This was the very event for which Peterborough had prepared his men. He had bid them in that case not be content with repulsing the enemy but follow close and pell-mell, so that Spaniards and English might enter the fort together. And so it proved. Fighting hand to hand, and carrying all before them, the English quickly reached the summit of the bastion and were able to throw up a breast-work of some loose stones which they found there, before the garrison could recover from their surprise.

The Spaniards being here engaged and drawing their whole force to this quarter, the second division was

CHAP. VI. 1705.

enabled with little or no hindrance to scale the rock on the opposite side, and to seize the guns upon the walls. Thus did Peterborough become possessed at all points of the outer fortifications of Montjuich, and he sent at once for Stanhope and the reserve so as to secure what he had gained. The enemy however had still possession of the inner works or the keep of the place. Thence after a short interval they poured forth some volleys of musketry. One of these took fatal effect. It struck dead the gallant Darmstadt who fell by the side of Peterborough so recently his rival and now his comrade in arms.

Almost at the same moment there came a rumour that the Spanish Viceroy in Barcelona learning the loss of Montjuich was sending a division of three thousand men from the city to recover it. The distance was about a mile, and all uneven ground; so that the Spaniards besides being tardily collected could advance but slowly. The Earl at once mounted and rode off to reconnoitre, leaving a Peer of Ireland, Lord Charlemont, to command in his place. But no sooner did his presence cease to animate his men than their hearts began to fail. They reflected how few they were in number and how exposed in position, and they muttered that the only thing left for them to do was to return the way they came. One of the officers acting as spokesman made an earnest representation in this sense to Lord Charlemont, a man of personal courage but, as Captain George Carleton then serving under him has mildly put it, "somewhat too flexible in his temper."[7] Carleton who overheard the pressing advice and also the meek answer, and who saw how

[7] Carleton's Memoirs p. 137, ed. 1808. I have no more doubt than had Dr. Johnson or Lord Macaulay, of the perfect authenticity of this narrative; and I venture to refer to a passage in my History of the War of Succession in Spain (Appendix, p. 130) as affording proof that Carleton was not, as has sometimes been asserted, an imaginary character wrought into a fiction by De Foe.

CHAP. VI. 1705. matters were going, slipped away as he says as fast as he could, and put spurs to his horse until he overtook Lord Peterborough and told him what had passed. Peterborough at once turned round and galloped back. As he drew near he perceived that his troops in one compact body and with Lord Charlemont at their head had relinquished the fort and were already half way down the hill. Coming up to them at full speed he snatched from Lord Charlemont's hand the half-pike borne by that officer in symbol of command; then turning to the men he cried: "Face about and follow me, or you shall have the scandal and eternal infamy upon you of having deserted your posts and abandoned your General!"

The sight, the speech, of this most high-spirited chief had a wonderful effect on both officers and soldiers. The dark cloud passed away from their minds, and left no trace behind it; they faced about, and with the greatest alacrity followed Peterborough up the hill. Happily the Spaniards had not perceived their recent panic, so that all the posts could be regained and anew possessed without any loss and in less than half an hour. Nor was this their only good fortune. The Spanish General who was bringing up 3,000 men from Barcelona caught at the report that both the Earl and Prince were in Montjuich, and took for granted that their main army must be with them; upon which he immediately gave his orders for retreat. Soon afterwards Stanhope came up with the reserve; and the English posts were most fully secured.

Next day by Peterborough's orders the heavy cannon were once more landed from the ships, and two mortars were brought to bear upon the keep of Montjuich. Its fall was hastened by the explosion of its powder-magazines, and Peterborough interposed to save its garrison from the fury of the Miquelets. The citadel being thus at all points reduced Peterborough pro-

ceeded to invest the city. His late exploit it was found had inspirited all ranks. "Everybody" says Carleton "now began to make his utmost efforts; and looked upon himself as a drone if he was not employed in doing something or other towards pushing forward the siege of Barcelona." The Miquelets poured down in great numbers from the hills. The Admirals and Captains of the fleet offered the aid of their sailors, and came day by day to serve on shore. Such indeed was their zeal that when it was found impossible for horses to drag the heavy artillery up the precipices, harnesses were made for two hundred seamen; and by that means the cannon and mortars were after prodigious labour brought to the points required.

With so much ardour on the part of the besiegers it was not long before a practicable breach was made. Velasco hereupon beat a parley, and articles of capitulation were signed on the 9th of October. In four days, should no succour meanwhile arrive, the Viceroy and the garrison were to march out with all the honours of war. But on the day following there broke out an insurrection at Barcelona. The severities of the Viceroy before and during the siege had incensed many of the townspeople, and they, supported by some Miquelets who had stolen in, were eager to wreak their vengeance upon him. The tumult of the city was plainly to be heard in the English camp. Lord Peterborough rode up boldly to the city-wicket, and was let in; he had with him only a single officer, but was subsequently joined in the same manner by Stanhope and one or two more.[8] Thus entering the city at imminent risk to himself, he succeeded by his personal ascendancy in saving the life of Velasco, whom he sent in due time on board ship to be conveyed by sea to Alicant. He had also the honour of rescuing from danger a beautiful

[8] Compare Captain Carleton's Memoirs (p. 152) with the narrative derived from Stanhope, in Burnet's History, vol. v. p. 218.

CHAP. VI. 1705.

lady whom he met flying with dishevelled hair from the apprehended fury of the Miquelets; she proved to be the Duchess of Popoli whose husband was in command of the Spanish troops. It was not only beauty in distress which as on this occasion claimed the regard of Peterborough. Writing to the Duchess of Marlborough a few months later we find him declare in a moment of spleen that "the most disagreeable country in the world is Spain," with however one exception as follows, "the only tolerable thing your sex, and that attended with the greatest dangers."

The brilliancy of Peterborough's late achievements appears to have produced a strong impression on a people ever lovers of the marvellous. Of the five or six thousand troops who marched out of Barcelona, and were free to go further according to the terms of the capitulation, not above a thousand went, the rest consenting to take service with Charles as rightful King of Spain. Great part of the open country also declared in his favour. The young Prince himself made his public entry on the 23rd of October, amidst loud acclamations, and with all established forms; he returning every cheer with the movement of his hand to his mouth; "for the Kings of Spain are not allowed to salute or return a salute by any motion to or of the hat."

By Peterborough's orders General Stanhope at once embarked for England to carry the news of the late successes, and to claim in the most earnest manner reinforcements and supplies. Peterborough writes as follows to the Duchess of Marlborough: "I know the good nature of England, especially towards the month of November; but I hope at least they will find no fault..... I think we have met with miracles in our favor. But we are poorer than church-rats, and miracles cannot save us long without money."

Peterborough meanwhile took a step of great political

significance, in which he was fully justified by the terms of his instructions. He gave a public assurance that his Queen would engage to secure to the province the enjoyment of its ancient FUEROS—the rights and liberties which the Crown of Castille had set aside. This promise joined to the lustre of his arms wrought wonders. Lerida and Gerona, Tarragona and Tortosa, the last of especial importance as commanding the passage of the Ebro, proclaimed the Archduke as their King. The whole of Catalonia was for the time won over. Nay more, the flame spread rapidly to the province, or as the Spaniards love to call it the kingdom, of Valencia. San Mateo and other places to the south of the Ebro declared for the Austrian Prince. And thus also to the south of the Xucar. A partisan chief, a native of that part of the country, General Basset y Ramos in name or names, had been left by the Allies as Governor of the fort of Denia with a garrison of four hundred men. Sallying out with the greater part of his force he was joined by Colonel Raphael Nebot, a Catalan in King Philip's service, who came over with his whole regiment of five hundred horse. These two chiefs overran the open country and reduced the smaller towns, appearing at length before the gates of Valencia which were thrown open to them. Entering that great city in triumph they proclaimed Charles as King and Basset y Ramos as his Viceroy until his pleasure should be known.

Peterborough meanwhile continued at Barcelona making great efforts to sustain his troops. He instructed his wife in London to make earnest applications for him to the Ministers, and meanwhile he continued with most impartial acrimony to rail at almost every thing and almost every person around him. Thus he writes to Stanhope in England, "In the beggarly circumstances of our Princes and Generals it is certain that nothing can be greater than the affec-

CHAP. VI. 1705.

tion of all sorts of people to the King; and nothing greater than the contempt and aversion they have to Lichtenstein and Wolfeld and to the whole Vienna crew. . . . Never Prince was accompanied by such wretches for Ministers; they have spent their whole time in selling places; they have neither money, sense, nor honor. . . . I have intelligence and correspondence wherever the enemy have troops, who are much more disposed to join us than to fight with us. From Valencia, from Aragon, from Mont Louis, from Languedoc, from the Cevennes, I have every day offers and solicitations, and I cannot want success wherever I go if I could but go."

His own General Officers do not fare much better in Peterborough's correspondence than does "the Vienna crew."—"I believe the Queen will order Charlemont to sell; if so I have agreed with him at £1,500; but he would have been described as a hero. If he be prevented bargaining for the new clothing the regiment will come cheap. . . . . Cunningham is such an eternal screech-owl, and growing more and more disagreeable; if possible get him removed to some other service more suitable to his humour."

To Alexander Stanhope at the Hague Peterborough writes in more general terms while pressing for Dutch aid. "Give us support and you shall have no Portuguese excuses! We will bring affairs to a speedy issue. We have not hitherto gone the pace of Spaniards though amongst them![9]

From Spain pass we to Scotland. The bitter fruits of the Darien enterprise were not all past. In the summer of 1704 the Worcester, a ship which belonged to the New East India Company, being driven by stress of weather into the Frith of Forth, and anchoring in the harbour of Burnt Island, was there seized by the agents of the Darien Company in requital as they ima-

[9] Tortosa, November 19, 1705 (MS.).

gined of a former wrong. The Captain Thomas Green and his crew, thirteen in all, were surprised and overpowered and cast into prison. Then they were brought to trial on charges of piracy upon the coast of Malabar, and of the murder of Drummond one of the Darien Captains who had been missing for three years. They were found Guilty on very insufficient evidence and condemned to death, and though most of them were reprieved and soon afterwards quietly released, three of the number, namely Green the Captain Madder the mate and Simpson the gunner, were left to suffer the extreme sentence of the law. It was felt in England that these poor men would fall a sacrifice to national resentment; and the Queen sent orders to the Privy Council of Scotland to stay the execution and to consider the sentence. But the Privy Council were scared by the apprehension of mob violence; they made no sign; and the prisoners underwent their doom upon the sands of Leith, on the 11th of April 1705. Strange to say there was some evidence at the time, which subsequent inquiry confirmed, that Captain Drummond for whose murder three men were hanged was then and for some years afterwards alive—a wanderer among the savage tribes of Madagascar.[1]

The angry temper of the Scottish people was by no means confined to the humbler classes nor yet to any single subject, and the Ministers in England looked forward with much anxiety to the next meeting of the Scottish Parliament. They adopted at last a timid resolution in which the mind of Godolphin at this period may probably be traced. They determined to change once again the holders of office at Edinburgh and in spite of his recent failures reinstate the Duke of Queens-

[1] State Trials, vol. xiv. p. 1199, and Burton's Criminal Trials in Scotland, vol. i. p. 157. "Somers says he knows not the laws of Scotland, but that the proceedings are illegal according to all other laws that he knows." So writes Secretary Johnstone in the Jerviswood Correspondence, April 9, 1705.

CHAP. VI. 1705.

berry. His Grace however took on this occasion only the secondary post of Privy Seal, while the function of representing the Crown was conferred on the Duke of Argyle, a young man of signal spirit and ability. Under these new auspices the Estates assembled on the 28th of June; and the Queen's Message at their opening most earnestly pressed upon their notice both the settlement of the Succession, and the appointment of Commissioners to treat for a legislative Union.

A tangled web of party-politics ensued. Lord Tweeddale and his friends who were ousted from office immediately formed themselves into what they termed the "New party;" but keeping close together and throwing their weight from time to time into the divers sides of the divisions they came to be commonly called the "Squadrone Volante." Italian was then for some reason in vogue with the politicians of that country for their private notes; thus we may observe the Earl of Roxburgh begin to Johnstone—"if you have read my letter in Italian."[2] The Jacobites formed a no less compact mass, and were against the project of a legislative Union at any time or on any terms. The Duke of Queensberry it was found intended to keep aloof in England on the plea of sickness, so that without committing himself he might watch the first direction of events, and meanwhile, says Lockhart, "he sent down the Duke of Argyle as Commissioner and used him as the monkey did the cat in pulling out the hot roasted chesnuts."[3]

In spite of the pressing recommendations conveyed in the Queen's Message the Estates resolved to consider first the matters of trade. When they came to the Succession they showed themselves wholly disinclined to settle it so far as the person was concerned. Nevertheless they lent a ready ear to the schemes of Fletcher of Saltoun for all kinds of limitations and securities.

[2] Jerviswood Correspondence, p. 105.
[3] Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 114.

They did not indeed go the full length that he proposed, but they passed an Act which on the Queen's demise was to make the Officers of State and the Judges of the Supreme Courts elective by Parliament. Another Act provided that a Scottish ambassador should be present at every treaty made by the Sovereign of the two kingdoms with a foreign power. By a third measure the Parliament was to become triennial at the end of the next three years. None of these Acts however received the touch of the Sceptre, nor was the Royal Assent to them seriously pressed after the all-absorbing debate upon the Union had begun.[4]

As regards the last the Court party, assisted on this occasion by the Squadrone, carried an Act empowering the Queen to name Commissioners to treat for Scotland. This Act was however accompanied by a Resolution that the Scottish Commissioners should not begin to confer with the English, until the clauses in the English Act of Parliament making the Scotch aliens had been repealed. In this manner the Session was closed in tolerable harmony on the 21st of September.

The English Ministers meanwhile had been watching with anxious eyes the result of the English elections. Finding it much in favour of the Whigs they desired to make a further movement in conciliation of that party. Now the first object at that moment of the Whig Junto was to obtain an office for Lord Sunderland—a home office if possible but if not a foreign one, which might be a preparatory step to the Secretaryship of State. For this there appeared a favourable opening. Besides that Mr. Stepney, our Minister at Vienna, had offended the Austrian statesmen by his blunt remonstrances, and could not at that moment continue the negotiation with advantage, there seemed good reason to appoint a new Envoy Extraordinary to compliment Joseph on his accession to the throne. The

[4] Burton's History of Scotland, 1689–1748, vol. i. p. 387.

CHAP. VI.

1705.

Duchess of Marlborough threw her whole weight into Sunderland's scale; Godolphin and Marlborough yielded; and Sunderland being named Envoy accordingly set out for Vienna in the course of June.

Another and far more important change in the same direction had been for some time in suspense but was postponed till close upon the Session of Parliament. Then the Queen's consent having been reluctantly granted, Sir Nathan Wright was dismissed from the custody of the Great Seal, which was transferred with the same office of Lord Keeper to William Cowper. The proved incompetency of Sir Nathan and the rising genius of Cowper made this a welcome change independently of its party motive. And here begins the Private Diary of Cowper which though in general meagre is not without its value for the History of these times.[5]

The appointments of Sunderland and Cowper, being however looked upon as party measures, were in a high degree distasteful to the Tories, both to those who like Nottingham were already in opposition, and to those who like Harley continued to hold office. No sooner had the new Parliament met on the 25th of October than the two parties tried their strength on the first question that arose—the choice of Speaker. The Tory candidate was William Bromley, who on High Church principles represented the University of Oxford; the Whig was John Smith, member for Andover, who under King William had for a short time held an office in the Treasury.[6] The Court gave its full support to the latter candidate; and he was elected by a majority of 248 against 205.

[5] The Diary of Lord Cowper has not been published but was printed in 1833 by the Rev. Dr. Hawtrey for the members of the Roxburgh Club. The first entry is on the day of Cowper's taking office, October 11, 1705. And on the 27th he adds: "Note. The Lords who were against my advancement all wished me joy."

[6] See Lord Macaulay's History, vol. iv. p. 506.

CHAP. VI. 1705.

In the Royal Speech which ensued Her Majesty descanted in general terms on the importance of sustaining the war upon the Continent and of forming an Union with Scotland. She went on to say that it would be ever her chief care to support the Church and leave it secure after her. And she added "I mention this with a little more warmth because there have not been wanting some so very malicious as even in print to suggest the Church of England as by law established to be in danger at this time."

It was indeed this cry "the Church in danger!" which Rochester and Nottingham had resolved to raise. But they gave precedence to another which they thought would touch the Queen in a still more tender place. On the 15th of November Lord Haversham acting under their auspices moved an Address in the House of Lords entreating Her Majesty to invite the presumptive Heir "into this kingdom to reside here." It seemed to the High Tory Chiefs that their support of this proposal would effectually clear them from the common charge of acting in secret concert with the Jacobites, and that it would place the Ministers in great embarrassment, it being known that the idea was utterly distasteful to the Queen, who was determined not to yield it.

The Queen herself was present at this debate, and heard the three Tory chieftains, Rochester, Nottingham, and Buckingham, so lately her own confidential servants, urge with all their strength a measure which they knew her to abhor. Nor did Buckingham recommend it by any peculiar amenities of style, since among other things he suggested that perhaps the Queen might live till she did not know what she did and be like a child in the hands of others. It is no wonder if the attachment of Anne to the Tory party was at this time rudely shaken.[7]

[7] Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 171, ed. 1742.

CHAP. VI.

1705.

The proposal of Lord Haversham was met on the part of the Ministry by the previous question which was carried without dividing. But the spirit roused by the discussion so far prevailed that two measures for the better security of the Succession (first suggested in the debate by Bishop Burnet) were ordered to be brought in. The first was entitled "an Act for the Naturalization of the most excellent Princess Sophia" and her issue, with a saving clause that any person naturalized by this Act and becoming a Papist should lose the benefit of the Act and be taken as an alien born out of the allegiance of the Queen. This measure was passed without any difficulty or discussion.

The second measure of security as sketched by Bishop Burnet was further developed on the 19th in a very able speech by Lord Wharton, and was ordered to be brought in accordingly. Then it came to be commonly known by the name of the Regency Bill. It provided that in the event of the Queen's decease without issue the Privy Council then in being should on pain of High Treason cause the next appointed successor to be proclaimed as Sovereign with all convenient speed: That to carry on the Government in her or his absence seven great Officers of State as specified should act as Lords Justices: That the next heir should be empowered by an instrument under her or his hand to nominate any other persons to act in conjunction with these seven as Lords Justices; this instrument to be sent over in triplicate and to be kept sealed; one copy by the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper; another by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and a third by her or his own Minister at this Court.

The occasion was also taken to review that clause in the Act of Settlement which after the accession of the House of Hanover would exclude all holders of office from the House of Commons. Under the Regency Bill the prohibition ceased to be absolute. A certain

number of offices was specified as actually disqualifying; besides all those that might at any time be created since the day the Parliament met—the 25th of October 1705. As to any others the acceptance of office was to vacate the Seat, but the electors were left free if they pleased to re-elect the office-holder. Such is the law under which even at the present day our Ministerial system continues to be ruled. It was at first intended that those clauses like that in the Act of Settlement which they were framed to amend should apply only to the following reign. But the Ministers on being pressed agreed that they should take effect at the next Dissolution.[8]

Godolphin and the other Ministers had from the first supported the Regency Bill. It would have been far wiser in the Tory chiefs, had they also given to it their frank adherence rather than raise against it as they did in both Houses a host of petty cavils. This laid them open to the taunt that they were in truth no friends to the Hanover Succession, first urging a security which they knew was unattainable, and next rejecting another security which was placed within their reach. They did not venture however to try their strength by any party vote against the entire Bill, which was finally carried through both Houses; but they brought forward divers amendments, some of a very trifling character. Thus for instance in the Commons they moved that the Lord Treasurer should not be named among the seven great Officers of State; an omission that could be defended by no possible argument, and proceeding solely from their spleen against Godolphin who filled the post.

The second arrow in the Tory quiver, "the Church in danger," was let fly, not quite willingly, on the 6th of December. Lord Halifax on behalf of the Whigs had accused the opposite party of making a complaint

[8] Act 4 and 5 Ann. c. 8, re-enacted after the Union as 6 Ann. c. 7.

CHAP. VI. 1705.

which they were unable to establish, and he had fixed a day for its consideration by the House of Lords. Her Majesty came to hear the debate which her uncle Lord Rochester commenced and which on the other side Lord Somers closed. Several Prelates spoke; one or two not greatly to their credit. Thus the Archbishop of York (Dr. Sharp) said that he apprehended danger to the Church from the increase of Dissenters, and particularly from the many academies set up by them; and he moved that the Judges might be consulted what laws were in force against such seminaries and by what means they might be suppressed. In like manner the Bishop of London (Dr. Compton) warmly inveighed against the sermon which one clergyman, Mr. Benjamin Hoadley, had lately preached before the Lord Mayor, and in which the Bishop said "rebellion was countenanced and resistance to the higher powers encouraged." This provoked a spirited reply from Bishop Burnet. "My Right Reverend brother" he cried "ought to have been the last man to complain of that sermon, for if the doctrine of that sermon be not good, I know not what defence his Lordship could make for appearing in arms at Nottingham." [9]

This debate was taken with the House in Committee on the Royal Speech. A division being called for, the alarm-cry of the Tories was negatived by 61 votes against 30. It was resolved that "under the happy reign of Her Majesty the Church is in a most safe and flourishing condition;" and that "whoever goes about to suggest and insinuate that the Church is in danger is an enemy to the Queen, the Church, and the kingdom." A Protest against this Resolution was signed by two Bishops and twenty-three lay Peers, but the majority, forming the House, sent it to the Commons who by a division of 212 against 160 expressed their concurrence therewith. The Resolution was next presented as a

[9] See Lord Macaulay's History, vol. ii. p. 516.

joint Address of both Houses to the Queen, who on her part published a Proclamation declaring that with the advice of her Privy Council she would "proceed with the utmost severity the law will allow of against the authors and spreaders of the said seditious and scandalous reports."

These proceedings in Parliament passed before the Christmas holidays. They were all, as has been seen, greatly in favour of the Government. It may be added that the Commons showed much alacrity in voting the required Supplies; and that both Houses cheerfully concurred in expediting the negotiations for a Scottish Union. The only obstacle in the way of beginning to treat lay in the Act of last Session imposing in a certain case divers disabilities on Scotsmen. But Lord Somers who had been the author of that Act saw that its object was answered from the moment the Estates at Edinburgh had empowered the Queen to name Commissioners for Scotland. He therefore at once expressed his willingness to repeal the obnoxious clauses; and a Bill repealing them was accordingly passed with all despatch.

Marlborough meanwhile was still absent from England. He had been earnestly pressed to pay a visit to Vienna at the close of the campaign, and he desired to try his personal influence at the Emperor's Court. Setting out with the full assent of his colleagues, he found Lord Sunderland installed as the English Minister, and though offered a separate palace he took up his abode at his son-in-law's house. The Emperor showed him every mark of high regard, invested him with the promised principality, and hearkened to his counsels for the next campaign. Marlborough was however disappointed in his hopes of meeting Prince Eugene who was detained with the Italian army.

From Vienna the Duke accompanied by Sunderland proceeded to Berlin. There he soothed the dissatisfac-

CHAP. VI.

1705. tion on various petty grounds of the King, and induced him to renew the treaty for the further subsidiary force of 8,000 men. At Hanover his presence was of still more essential service. The old Electress had been induced to write a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury expressing her readiness to come over if the Queen and Parliament should desire it.[1] This letter had been made public during the discussions on this subject and had given great displeasure to the Queen, while the Electress was no less incensed when she found her inclination disregarded. In several interviews both with herself and her son Marlborough was able to convince them that the Ministers in England had meant them no unkindness, and had done their best to secure the succession of their House. On concluding his visit at Hanover Marlborough went on to the Hague, where, as he writes, "I have not been idle one minute," and from whence in company with Sunderland he returned to London on the last day of the last month.

1706. Already at the Hague Marlborough had received a letter from Godolphin pressing him to draw closer to his recent allies the Whigs, and Marlborough had answered: "I shall with all my heart live friendly with those that have shown so much friendship to you and service to the Queen." On the first Sunday after his return, the 6th of January, a dinner was given by Secretary Harley to cement the new alliance. There were present besides Marlborough and Godolphin, Boyle and St. John, Halifax, Sunderland and Cowper. Somers also had been invited but had gone to his country house. The scene is described with much spirit in Cowper's Private Diary. "After Lord Treasurer was gone, who first went, Secretary Harley took a glass and drank to love and friendship and everlasting union; and wished he had more Tokay to drink it in; we had drank two bottles good but thick. I replied his White

[1] See this letter at length in the Parliamentary History, vol. vi. p. 520.

Lisbon was best to drink it in, being very clear. I suppose he apprehended it, as I observed most of the company did, to relate to that humour of his, which was never to deal clearly or openly but always with reserve, if not dissimulation or rather simulation; and to love tricks even where not necessary but from an inward satisfaction he took in applauding his own cunning." It is plain from this entry how rife jealousies were still.

The two Houses met again as usual after the Christmas holidays, but transacted no further business of importance. Dispirited by its late reverses the Tory party remained at gaze; and the Session was closed in quiet with a Speech from the Queen on the 19th of March.

Public interest however was now centered, so far as home-affairs were concerned, on the pending treaty for a Scottish Union. The Commission for Scotland was issued on the 27th of February; that for England on the 10th of April. According to precedent in both cases the former was in Latin and the latter in English. The members were thirty-one on each side. In the Scottish list besides many persons of rank and office there were also several independent country-gentlemen; as Clerk of Pennycook and Lockhart of Carnwath. On the English side there was more attention to routine, the Commissioners being the most part the heads of Church and State, but comprising also some chief men out of office, and above all Lord Somers whose clear and pervading genius proved to be the master-spirit of the whole.

The two Commissions held their first meeting on the 16th of April in the Council-chamber of the Cockpit near Whitehall, the place which had been appointed for them. Their first day was taken up with introductory speeches from Mr. Cowper the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in England, and the Earl of Seafield the

CHAP. VI.

1706. Chancellor of Scotland; but they proceeded to real business when they met next on the 22nd of the month. Then the Lord Keeper on the part of England formally proposed: That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland be for ever united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain: That the United Kingdom of Great Britain be represented by one and the same Parliament; and That the Succession to the Crown of the United Kingdom be fixed according to the stipulations of the English Act of Settlement.

To these terms the Scottish Commissioners made some demur. It is plain from their counter-proposals though most cautiously worded that they desired the Union to be not legislative but only federative like that of the Dutch States or the Swiss Cantons. But the English Commissioners stood firm. They declared that in their judgment nothing but an entire union of the two kingdoms would settle perfect and lasting friendship between them; and they declined to continue the treaty on any other ground. Met at once by this explicit intimation the Scots yielded. Next day they gave in their acceptance of the first proposals on the condition that there should be full freedom of trade, and a communication of all other advantages, between the two kingdoms. The English Commissioners answered frankly that they regarded this condition as the necessary consequence of an entire Union.

Thus the foundation at least was happily and securely laid. The further progress of this treaty and its final issue shall be related after I have traced in some detail the campaigns of this memorable year in Flanders, Italy and Spain.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAP. VII. 1706.

MARLBOROUGH reached the Hague from England on the 25th of April. But although as in former years he made the Hague his starting point he designed a far different sphere. Recent experience disinclined him equally from two proposals which at this time were pressed upon him—the one from the Emperor to co-operate on the Moselle with Prince Louis on the Upper Rhine—the other from the States of Holland to join his army to theirs and act, not unattended by their Deputies, in Flanders. Marlborough on the contrary desired that they should, as in his Blenheim campaign, place a smaller body of their troops under his sole command; with these and his English to march to Italy, and join once more his tried friend Prince Eugene.

Combined with this great project there was a smaller also. Marlborough had been for some time in communication with the Marquis de Guiscard who was a refugee from the Cevennes, and profuse of promises as is the wont of exiles. He was certain, he said, the Protestants of Languedoc would rise in arms once more as soon as a friendly force appeared in sight of their hills. Both Marlborough and St. John lent an ear to his representations, and had directed twelve regiments of foot with some dragoons to assemble at Portsmouth, there to embark, as soon as the arrangements should be ready. The troops were to be headed by Lord Rivers and accompanied by De Guiscard with other French Protestant officers. Landing at Blaye near the mouth of the Gironde they would endeavour to raise the Cevennes in insurrection, and failing in that object they

CHAP. VII. 1706.

might burn the ships at Rochefort on their return. In any event it was thought that this expedition would prevent the French from sending reinforcements either to Italy or Spain.

Wisely framed as might be these two projects they were found incapable of actual execution. The jealousies attending every wide confederacy here came into full play. Thus does Marlborough report on the 9th of May: "I am so tired that you will excuse my not giving you any other account of Cadogan's voyage to Hanover but what you will see by the Elector's inclosed letter. He obstinately persists in letting none of his troops march notwithstanding he very much approves the project (of Italy). The Danes and Hessians have also excused themselves upon their treaties; so that though the Pensioner and the town of Amsterdam had approved of sending the forty squadrons and forty battalions, now that they must of necessity be of the English and Dutch only they dare not consent since it must leave them in the hands of the strangers, for so they call the Danes, the Hanoverians, and the Hessians."

An untoward event upon the Upper Rhine increased the perplexities of the States. Marshal Villars having received a reinforcement from the Netherlands under Marshal Marsin suddenly took the field and attacked the Margrave of Baden with great success, forcing the German lines on the Motter and reducing Drusenheim and Haguenau which contained the principal magazines.

With this recent instance of French daring before them the Dutch were more than ever unwilling to see Marlborough depart for Italy. If he would but remain they offered to give him in secret the choice of their Field Deputies, or to instruct these gentlemen to conform on all points to his wishes. Finally though with great reluctance the Duke yielded. It was agreed that an auxiliary force of 10,000 men should be at once despatched to Prince Eugene; and that besides those on the

Upper Rhine the remaining troops in English or Dutch pay should under the command of Marlborough act on the side of Flanders. The plan being thus determined at the Hague the Duke set out for the army on Sunday the 9th of May. His chagrin is apparent in his letters. "God knows I go with a heavy heart; for I have no prospect of doing any thing considerable."

At this very moment however—so much should gloomy prognostics be distrusted—fortune had in store for him one of the brightest of his triumphs. When he left the Hague the English and Dutch troops were still apart, but they effected their junction at Bilsen on the 20th; and the Danes who were rapidly pressing forward came in shortly afterwards. Thus combining the army advanced upon Flanders in nearly the same direction as last year. Officers and men were in high spirits, and Marlborough, could he but find the opportunity, was eager to engage.

Marshal Villeroy on his part had already taken the field. Ever too sanguine and vainglorious in temper he was persuaded that Marlborough could not so soon have gathered his whole force together, and he fully relied on his own superior numbers and superior skill. He did not even deem it necessary to await the coming of Marsin who was already on his march with eighteen battalions to join him from Alsace. Thus he writes to the King: "I am convinced that it must be for our advantage to risk a battle; above all if the enemy have to come and attack us. Your Majesty's troops are fine; their courage is elated by the news of our late successes; and everything leads us to expect a happy issue if we come to a general action.'[1]

The same confident spirit pervaded his ranks. As Marlborough states when writing to Godolphin on the day after the event: "the General officers who are taken tell us that they thought themselves sure of victory, by

[1] Mémoires militaires de la Succession d'Espagne, vol. vi. p. 20.

CHAP. VII. 1706.

having all the King of France's Household and with them the best troops of France." The numbers however were most nearly matched. According to Marlborough's statement in the same letter the French had 128 squadrons and 74 battalions, while Marlborough himself had 123 of the former and 73 of the latter. The French may be reckoned at 60,000 and the Allies at 62,000 men.

The English commander was now steadily advancing towards the sources of the Little Gheet. It was just beyond the site of the French lines demolished by the Allies in the preceding year. There on the forenoon of Sunday, May the 23rd, he appeared in sight of the French. General Cadogan led the van at the head of six hundred horse. Two of the columns that followed marched along one of those strange old Chaussées which in France and Belgium are known by the name of Queen Brunehaut; the others proceeded in parallel lines; and Marlborough no longer fettered by Dutch trammels had determined to attack that very day.

Villeroy was well prepared to receive him. Close to the Little Gheet sources stands the village of Ramillies, which has given its name to the battle which ensued. Behind the village the ground rises and forms a gently undulating plain, the highest ground in all Brabant. It was from this slope of Ramillies that the French Marshal, when the fog of the forenoon had cleared, descried for the first time the approaching columns of his foe. He at once ranged his own army in order of battle on the ground which he had already reconnoitred. His left was at the back of the village of Autre-Eglise; his right at a barrow which is called the Tomb of Ottomond, and which crowns the summit of the plain. From the Tomb of Ottomond the ground falls away to the village of Tavier and the marshes that border the Mehaigne. Tavier was protected by a French detachment, and better still by its swampy ground. Opposite

to Tavier also there was swampy ground at the Little Gheet sources; and it was through the interval between these two morasses that the Allied onset on Ramillies must be made. Thus on the whole the French were posted in concave round the segment of a circle extending from Autre-Eglise to Tavier.

While Villeroy was thus drawing out his army he was joined from Brussels by his colleague the Elector of Bavaria. His Highness approved the selection, and acknowledged the strength of the ground. Marlborough meanwhile accompanied by Overkirk was intently eyeing it and them. He saw that the concave order of the French would expose them to some disadvantage in rapidity of movement. He saw moreover that the Tomb of Ottomond was in truth the key of their position since from thence the entire field of battle might be enfiladed. The object was therefore by a sudden effort to overpower the French right, and this as Marlborough thought might best be achieved through a preliminary feint upon their left.

The battle was begun about three o'clock by a mutual cannonade. An hour afterwards Marlborough pursuing his skilful stratagem made a vigorous demonstration against Autre-Eglise. The feint was entirely successful. Both Villeroy and Maximilian hurried off to the threatened quarter drawing with them a considerable corps of infantry from the centre and right. Then Marlborough, seizing his opportunity and masking his onset by the aid of some hollow ground, sent forward his columns and fell with fury upon Tavier and Ramillies. Tavier where the French were weak was quickly carried, but Ramillies made a most resolute resistance. The Elector and French Marshal, seeing but too late where would be the brunt of battle, came back with all speed from Autre-Eglise; they could not however regain the ground which Marlborough had already won.

CHAP. VII. 1706.

In spite of this early advantage there were still some fluctuations of fortune. The Dutch Marshal, Overkirk, made a gallant charge, and with good effect, upon the French cavalry by Ramillies; but after his first success was himself assailed and his ranks thrown into confusion by a counter charge from the MAISON DU ROI. Marlborough seeing the disarray spurred up to the rescue. Riding in front of his men he was recognised by a small party of French dragoons who closed round and sought to make him prisoner. He endeavoured to extricate himself by making his horse leap a ditch, but he failed in the attempt and was thrown to the ground. Upon this his aide-de-camp Captain Molesworth dismounting supplied him with another horse. His equerry Colonel Bingfield was holding the stirrup and helping him up when a cannon-ball carried off the Colonel's head. Thus narrowly was Marlborough's precious life preserved.

Again on horseback however and preserving at all times his presence of mind, Marlborough though severely bruised was enabled to shake off his assailants and to rejoin his lines. The Dutch cavalry was rallied; other foot advanced; and Marlborough putting himself at the head of his own horsemen in triple rank led them to a combined charge on Ramillies where the French taken in flank from Tavier and already wavering now gave way. The village of Ramillies was thus carried at half-past six o'clock. Next was gained the Tomb of Ottomond commanding the entire plain. Then Villeroy and the Elector saw that the day was decided, and thought only of making their retreat in as good order as they could. Like brave men had they behaved in the battle; like brave men also they bore up against defeat.

The object of these chiefs was now to gain the pass of Jodoigne, and from thence the fortress of Louvain. But at the very outset some baggage-waggons being

upset and obstructing the way, while the hindmost of the defeated army still came pressing on, the retreat quickly grew into a rout. Many of the French soldiers disbanded to the right and left, and flung their muskets to the ground. All their baggage and nearly all their artillery was lost. Their rear was pressed by Marlborough and Overkirk far beyond Jodoigne; nor did these commanders halt till two o'clock in the morning and two leagues from Louvain. Even then the pursuit was continued by Lord Orkney with some squadrons of light horse to the very gates of the city. 1706.

Entering Louvain in dismal plight with the remains of the French army Villeroy and Maximilian held a consultation by torch-light in the market-place. They decided that they could not hold the city; and they continued their flight by the Brussels road. Thus on the following day were Louvain and the passage of the Dyle left free to the Allies.

Of this battle of Ramillies it may be noted that the fighting though severe was far less protracted than at Blenheim. It scarcely in its full brunt endured above an hour and a half. The French were from the first out-generalled and appear to have felt that they were so. In killed and wounded, in prisoners and deserters, their entire loss has been computed at 15,000 men. The Allies owned to having above 1,000 slain and above 2,500 wounded. Among the former were five Colonels and the gallant Prince of Hesse.

On the day after the battle Marlborough sent Colonel Richards with the good tidings to England. There it was most cordially welcomed. The Queen appointed the 27th of June as a day of Public Thanksgiving, while Addresses of Congratulation came pouring in from every quarter. Villeroy on the other hand is said to have lingered several days before he could prevail upon himself to send a courier to Versailles with the news of his disaster. A subsequent letter to the King

CHAP. VII. 1706.

reveals how bitter was his anguish. "Sir, although in my heart I am not conscious of any self-reproach, I know that I can never appear before your Majesty without recalling to you the cause of great affliction; and I assure you, Sir, that death is nothing in comparison of so cruel a thought."[2] But, as after Blenheim, Louis showed himself magnanimous. When Villeroy came next to Versailles the great King in receiving him said only: "Monsieur le Maréchal, at our age good fortune deserts us."[3]

Marlborough during this time was pursuing his success. Appearing at the gates of Brussels he found the French retire from the city. Of the brother Electors in exile he of Cologne fled to Lille, he of Bavaria to Alost; while the magistrates admitting the victors hastened to proclaim the Archduke their rightful Sovereign as King Charles the Third. Well might Marlborough write at this time with no unbecoming exultation: "You will see that we have done in four days what we should have thought ourselves happy if we could have been sure of in four years."[4]

Nor could the French on leaving Brussels maintain the line of the Scheldt. Chamillart the Minister of War came for a few days from Versailles to examine with his own eyes the state of the army, but he came only as a witness of fresh reverses. Villeroy felt himself unable with his far diminished numbers to make a stand against Marlborough or to run the risk of another battle. He retired almost to the frontiers of France, leaving Flanders protected by its fortresses alone. Moreover the people of the country showed a strong disposition to side with the victorious. At Ghent and at Bruges the Allies were warmly welcomed. Oudenarde,

[2] Lettre au Roi, le 3 Juin 1706. Mémoires militaires, vol. vi. p. 41.

[3] Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV, vol. i. p. 328, ed. 1752. "Cela fut court et sec," says St. Simon of this first interview (Mém. vol. v. p. 132, ed. 1829).

[4] To the Duchess, Brussels, May 27, 1706.

a stronghold which King William had besieged in vain, opened its gates without a blow. "So many towns" writes Marlborough "have submitted since the battle that it really looks more like a dream than truth." [5]

Marlborough was now intent on besieging Antwerp; but that necessity was spared him. As the army of Villeroy was withdrawn to its own frontier the tie of cohesion between the French and the Flemings loosened. Thus a schism broke forth at once between the French and Walloon regiments which composed the garrison of Antwerp. The latter having at their head the Governor of the citadel, the Marquis of Terracina, acknowledged King Charles the Third and opened their gates to Marlborough, while the French according to a convention which they had concluded were permitted to march out with all the honours of war.

Availing himself of this interval of leisure Marlborough repaired to the Hague. He remained there only one day — the 10th of June — but even in that short space was able to reconcile the Dutch Government to his further schemes. Then returning with all speed to his army he proceeded in conjunction with Overkirk to invest Ostend. That important fortress which in the last century had cost the Spaniards a siege of three years and a loss of fourscore thousand men yielded to the attack of the Allies in nine days. The garrison, about 5,000 strong, beat the chamade on the morning of the 6th of July and were allowed to proceed to France, but without military honours and under an engagement not to bear arms against the Allies for a period of six months. Ere they left the place however the greater number, being Walloons by birth, consented to enter the service of King Charles. A squadron of ships from England had cooperated in the siege; and in the harbour of Ostend were found two men-of-war, the one of eighty and the

[5] To the Duchess, from near Ghent, May 31,1706.

CHAP. VII. 1706.

other of fifty guns, besides forty-five smaller vessels—these also among the spoils of success. Thus rapidly did the chief cities and fortresses of this much disputed province fall into the hands of the Allies. As Marlborough by the battle of Blenheim had rescued Germany, so it may be said of him that by the battle of Ramillies he conquered Flanders.

Far from resting on his laurels however after the reduction of Ostend the English chief at once proceeded to invest Menin; a stronghold which commanded the line of the Lys, and which in its fortifications was regarded as one of the master-pieces of Vauban. Meanwhile the King of France having learnt from Chamillart how downcast and faint-hearted were now the troops of Villeroy felt it essential to send them a new chief. His choice fell on the Duke of Vendome who was then commanding in Italy; and in place of Vendome he appointed his nephew the Duke of Orleans with Marshal Marsin as adviser and guide. We find Vendome on assuming his new post write to Chamillart in most anxious terms. He describes the broken spirit of the officers since their late defeat and the awe which they felt at Marlborough's very name.[6] Under such circumstances Vendome durst not attempt to raise the siege of Menin which Marlborough had commenced on the day before the date of this letter. Menin made a resolute resistance and held out till the 22nd when on a capitulation the garrison retired with warlike honours to Douay. The reduction of this fortress cost the Allies no less than 3,000 men.

Next, Marlborough turned his arms to Dendermond. There the French had let out the water in the sluices, so as to place great difficulties in the way of an attack.

[6] "Tout le monde içi est près d'ôter son chapeau quand on nomme le nom de Marlborough. Si les soldats et les cavaliers étaient de même, il n'y aurait qu'à prendre congé de la compagnie, mais j'espère y trouver plus de ressource." Vendôme à Chamillart, de Valenciennes, le 5 Août 1706. Mém. milit. vol. vi. p. 94.

Nevertheless Marlborough prevailed, making the garrison prisoners of war. Thus he writes to Godolphin: "That place never could have been taken but by the hand of God which gave us seven weeks without any rain. The rain began the next day after we had possession and continued till this evening. . . . . I believe the King of France will be a good deal surprised when he shall hear that the garrison has been obliged to surrender, for upon his being told that preparations were making for the siege of Dendermond he said 'they must have an army of ducks to take it.'".

Ath was the subsequent object. Here again Marlborough after a twelve days' siege made himself master of the place by capitulation on the fourth of October the garrison remaining prisoners of war. He had hoped to proceed to the reduction of Mons; but the backwardness of the Dutch in supplying stores withheld him; so that Ath was the concluding trophy of this glorious campaign.

While thus engaged in conquering the Low Countries Marlborough had been greatly embarrassed with the question of their future government. The Archduke being acknowledged as King it seemed to follow that the nomination of Governor must rest with him, or with his brother the Emperor as administering his affairs in his absence. Charles had indeed left at Vienna a blank paper signed by himself, and to be filled up by Joseph. When therefore the tidings of the victory of Ramillies came to the Imperial Court, Joseph in a transport of gratitude inscribed the Duke's own name in the vacant space. It was a post of immense emolument as well as power; and Marlborough was much inclined to accept it with the Queen's consent.

The Queen and her Ministers were well pleased. They consulted Somers and Sunderland as chiefs of the Whigs and found them well pleased also. These Lords —so Godolphin writes to Marlborough—" seem to think

CHAP. VII. 1706.

there is no reason for the Dutch not to like it as much as we do." Here however Lord Somers failed in his usual sagacity. So far from relishing the scheme the Dutch viewed it with extreme aversion. They utterly denied the right of the Emperor to fix the government of the Low Countries before their own Barrier was decided. Nor could they disguise their jealousy at the idea, that so many commands, so many powers, should be concentrated in Marlborough. These sentiments extended even to Pensionary Heinsius and others like him, the warmest friends of Marlborough personally and the main stay of the English alliance.

It was the more necessary to consult the sensitiveness of the Dutch upon this point since any disregard of it would have inclined them to a separate peace. A secret proposal for that object had already been made to them in the course of the preceding winter on the part of France. They had been lured by the prospect of commercial advantages. They had been promised that the Low Countries should be erected into an independent State to serve them as the best of Barriers. It was certain that France would renew such offers or higher still at the first favourable opening, and it was probable considering the strong Gallican party at the Hague that any disgust given to the friends of England might turn the scale in behalf of the former and wholly detach the Republic from the cause of the Allies.

Marlborough therefore saw at once that it was requisite to yield; and he did so with excellent grace. "Assure the States"—thus he writes to Heinsius—"that they need be under no difficulty; since if they think it for their service I shall with pleasure excuse myself from accepting this commission." Finally it was agreed, notwithstanding some angry remonstrances from Vienna, that the two Maritime Powers should for the time share the Government of the Low Countries between them; each to appoint commissioners who

should form a council and administer all affairs in the name of Charles the Third.

In Italy the French had formed great expectations. It was intended that the Duke de La Feuillade should undertake the siege of Turin. He was son-in-law of Chamillart who accordingly strained every nerve to augment his forces and ensure his success. It was also intended that the Duke of Vendome with another body should keep in check and if possible repulse the army of Prince Eugene. Vendome began well. Marching through the night of the 18th of April he fell upon the Germans at Calcinato near the Lake of Garda. Taking them by surprise he put them to the rout with the loss of several thousand men in slain and prisoners. Eugene himself was not present. He had been delayed beyond the Alps in mustering his tardy reinforcements and he did not arrive till the day after the action. Then he found it necessary to continue the retreat and withdraw the army to the left bank of the Adige.

On the 22nd of May La Feuillade began to invest Turin, while the Duke of Savoy who had left the city hovered round with a body of light troops, watching an opportunity and burning to prevent or at least protract the siege. Meanwhile however the position of Eugene was much improving. The reinforcements which he had brought from Germany and those which Marlborough had despatched to him from Holland made his army more than equal to Vendome's. Early in July he was enabled to pass the Adige and a fortnight afterwards the Po.

It was then that in pursuance of the orders from Versailles Vendome departed for Flanders while the Duke of Orleans and Marsin arrived. Eugene skilfully availed himself of the slight confusion inseparable from a change of command. Through the month of August he gained post after post and drew nearer and nearer to

CHAP. VII. 1706.

Turin. Then combining his forces with those of the Duke of Savoy they marched together on the beleaguered city; while the Duke of Orleans and Marsin in like manner fell back on La Feuillade.

From the heights of the Superga and on the morning of the 6th of September, Eugene side by side with Victor Amadeus was surveying the French lines. The enemy might have fifty thousand men; and they no more than forty; still they were decided to give battle. During this time an anxious Council of War was being held by the French chiefs. The Duke of Orleans was for marching forward and charging, but Marsin and De Feuillade counselled—and their counsel prevailed—rather to await the attack within their lines.

Next morning then the 7th of September and at break of day Eugene led his army to the onset, well supported by a sally from the garrison under General Count Daun. The battle was well contested and during two hours doubtful, but the genius of Eugene prevailed. The gallant Marsin fell mortally wounded, according to his own prognostic felt by him in secret ever since he crossed the Alps.[7] The Duke of Orleans also was struck both on the thigh and wrist and compelled to quit the field; and the French were put to flight with the loss of many thousand men. Had they been promptly pursued their entire army might have been destroyed, or dispersed in a few days. But the Ministers at Vienna were intent on the reduction of the Milanese; and had made this a primary object with Eugene. There was little difficulty; as Eugene approached the French found it necessary to retire from all the districts which they held in King Philip's name; leaving only small garrisons in the citadels of Milan and Lodi and other such strongholds.

[7] This appears from a very curious letter which he wrote to Chamillart the day before the battle; it went inclosed to his Confessor to be delivered only in case of his death as he had predicted it, and it was first printed in the Mémoires militaires de la Succession d'Espagne, vol. vi. p. 277.

Spain was now the scene of remarkable vicissitudes. Even before the close of the preceding year the Court of Madrid incensed at the sudden revolt of Catalonia and Valencia had sent a body of seven thousand troops under the Count de Las Torres to recover the lost ground. The first step of Las Torres was to lay siege to San Mateo, where Peterborough had placed a small garrison of some hundred Miquelets commanded by Colonel Jones. Peterborough himself had hastened from Barcelona to Tortosa. He had with him no more than a thousand foot and two hundred dragoons, yet even with these was resolved on relieving the place. We find him in the first days of January write to the Governor of San Mateo, by no means in any dry official style: "Be sure upon the first appearance of our troops and the first discharge of our artillery, you answer with an English halloo and take to the mountains on the right with all your men. It is no matter what becomes of the town; leave it to your mistresses! Dear Jones, prove a true dragoon; preach this welcome doctrine to your Miquelets; Plunder without danger." [8] There was another letter with false intelligence, which as was meant Las Torres intercepted. So skilfully was the whole scheme combined that the Spanish General became convinced that he was encompassed by far superior forces, and he raised the siege with precipitation, leaving his artillery behind him.

The officers of Peterborough counselled him to be content with this success. The season was wintry; his men were few; and the troops of Las Torres might at any moment rally and turn round upon him. Still Peterborough pressed onward. He came next to Nules, a walled town which, unlike the others of this province, was zealous for the house of Bourbon. The inhabitants, several hundreds in number, had enrolled themselves in

[8] Printed under Lord Peterborough's direction in Dr. Freind's Account, p. 211, ed. 1707.

CHAP. VII. 1706.

arms, and had closed their gates. But Peterborough riding forward haughtily demanded a parley with their chiefs. When these appeared, he declared that he would allow them only six minutes for consideration, and would wreak his full vengeance upon them if they presumed to wait until his artillery came up. The townspeople scared at his confident tone, and ignorant of the fact which Peterborough had omitted to tell them that he had not with him even a single piece of cannon, agreed to a surrender. Advancing in this manner and prevailing by the mere terror of his name Peterborough on the 4th of February entered in triumph the capital city of Valencia which his partisans already held. "I call it a fine city," says Captain Carleton, "but sure it richly deserves a brighter epithet since it is a common saying among the Spaniards that the pleasures of Valencia would make a Jew forget Jerusalem."

Peterborough might now have expected some repose. But intelligence reached him—for he had always excellent intelligence, the reason being, according to Captain Carleton, that he always maintained a good correspondence with the priests and with the ladies—that a Spanish force of 4,000 men was lazily advancing to support Las Torres, and had encamped in listless security at Fuente de Higuera. The Earl at once devised a scheme to surprise them. He sent forward his troops by a night-march—crossed the river Xucar unperceived—and fell upon the Spaniards before they were aware of his approach. Several hundreds became his prisoners and the rest dispersed. This feat performed Peterborough fixed his head-quarters at Valencia, where he took to himself, much to the advantage of his cause, the duties of the Government, and divided his time between the avocations of love and war.

Not many weeks however were allowed him. The Courts both of Madrid and of Versailles felt most strongly the importance of recovering Barcelona. For

this object Philip took the field in person, and called back the greater portion of his troops from the frontiers of Portugal. Louis sent a fleet from Toulon, commanded by his son the Comte de Toulouse; and besides some stout soldiers from Roussillon, appointed as a guide for Philip and as the real chief of the besieging army one of the Marshals of France, Tessé. Thus at the beginning of April Barcelona was closely invested both by sea and land. Charles had bravely determined to share the fortunes of the garrison. He was shut up in the place; and might become a prisoner of war in the event of its capitulation. As may be supposed in such a streight there went pressing letters to Peterborough to entreat his aid. 1706.

Nor did the Earl linger. He returned to Catalonia by rapid marches; but when there he found that of his English he could muster round him scarce 3,000, to be supported by an irregular body of Miquelets under the Count of Cifuentes. With such means it was manifestly hopeless to give battle to the 20,000 men of Marshal Tessé. All that Peterborough could do for the present was to take post in the neighbouring mountains and do his best to harass the besiegers. His main hope was fixed on the succours that were expected from England.

Meanwhile Tessé on commencing the investment made Montjuich his first object. So careless were Charles's Germans that even the recent breaches in the walls had never been repaired. Nevertheless the citadel which the genius of Peterborough had surprised in a few hours was maintained against Tessé for a period of twenty-three days. Then the commander Lord Donegal having fallen, and the place become untenable, the garrison was withdrawn into the city against which the Spanish batteries began to play. Happily at this most critical juncture the English succours came in view.

These succours were of various kinds. The fleet which, commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, had brought

CHAP. VII. 1706.

out Charles in the preceding year, and had returned to England to winter, now came forth again commanded by Sir John Leake. In force and in equipments it was fully equal to that of the Comte de Toulouse. There was also a new commission to Peterborough for its command. By the former he was conjoined with equal powers to Shovel; by this he had full authority over Leake, only however on those occasions when he was himself on board. There was embarked the greater part of the sum of 250,000*l.*, which on the news of the first success at Barcelona had been voted by the House of Commons for the service of King Charles. Such a supply was the more required since Peterborough had already with signal generosity strained his personal credit to raise in Italy for the public service the sum of 40,000*l.* On board there was also a body of English troops; at their head General Stanhope, who was moreover invested with diplomatic functions as English Envoy at the Court of Charles.

"Never"—so writes Stanhope—"did succours come in a more critical instant; for the enemies who had besieged the King for five and thirty days had made two breaches, one of which is practicable, and the other in a fair way of being so. Their approaches were brought to the covered way, from which to the breaches they had not 150 yards to march to the assault."[9] Not an hour therefore was to be lost for the relief of Barcelona. Admiral Leake however, a brave and skilful but overcautious man, though already equal or more than equal in force to the Comte de Toulouse, had resolved not to hazard an engagement until he should be joined by Admiral Byng with some further ships. Stanhope most earnestly urged the Admiral to press forward without delay, but the Admiral was not to be persuaded. Nothing remained for Stanhope but to send an express to

[9] To Sir Charles Hedges, off Barcelona, May 9, 1706 (MS.).

shore and apprise Lord Peterborough of the Admiral's determination.

At these tidings the Earl took a step of singular boldness. He knew that French cruisers were plying along the coast, but he hoped to pass through them protected by the darkness and to reach the English fleet unperceived. With this view he marched down at once to Sitges a fishing village on the seashore. There his officers greatly astonished and concerned saw him embark with a single aide-de-camp in a small felucca. All that night the Earl and his attendant rowed about but could see nothing of their ships. Next night their attempt was resumed and with better success. They came up with the Leopard, one of the English men of war. Captain Price, a gentleman of Wales, who commanded her was amazed to find in an open boat and at open sea the person who had the Queen's Commission to command the fleet. Peterborough going on board ordered the Union Flag to be displayed at the main-top masthead, that the other ships might see it waving as his symbol of authority as soon as the day should break. Meanwhile the pinnace was sent out with a notification to General Stanhope of his safe arrival, and with his orders to Admiral Leake—those orders being to sail straight on Barcelona and make ready to attack the French.

It seems probable that if Peterborough could have reached the fleet on the first night of his search instead of on the second there would have ensued a naval battle fraught with glory to the British arms. But the time that intervened was not lost upon the Comte de Toulouse. He learnt the strength of Leake's armament; he was informed that it had already been, or would immediately be, joined by the squadron of Byng. To contend with such a force seemed to him too uncertain a venture. He determined rather to raise the siege and return to France. When therefore on the

CHAP. VII. 1706.

9th of May Peterborough and the English fleet drew near to Barcelona they found their naval enemies disappeared. They entered the harbour without opposition, and proceeded amidst loud huzzas from the people to land the soldiers and marines. As Peterborough wrote to the Queen: "I must not complain where there is so much occasion for joy; but when I spent two nights in a boat at sea to get on board the fleet, I was in hopes I might have given your Majesty some account of the other trust you have been pleased to honor me with; but a discreet retreat prevented those flattering hopes."

The object however of relieving Barcelona was most fully attained. The enemy's land-forces followed the example of the sea. Marshal Tessé when he found the French fleet sailed away, and the English succours landed, lost heart and desisted from the siege. In the night but one after he struck his tents and spiked his cannon, commending by letter his sick and wounded and not in vain to the generous care of Peterborough. On the early morn of the 11th accompanied by Philip he was in full march for the French frontier; and they scarcely paused until they found themselves within it, namely at Perpignan. Thus it appeared as though the reverses at Barcelona were to drive the Bourbon King of Spain out of his dominions.

There were two things which in popular impression seemed at this time to enhance the triumph of the Allies. As on the morning of the 11th of May the French were marching homeward in utter disarray the sun, that chosen device of Louis the Fourteenth, was obscured by a total eclipse. Secondly, as it chanced, the news of the raising the siege of Barcelona, and of the defeat at Ramillies, reached Versailles within a few days' interval of each other. Louis was perhaps the only man in France whose magnanimity was equal to these misfortunes. We find him late one

night write to Chamillart as follows: "Evil tidings pour in upon us from all quarters, but we must not let ourselves be downcast, nor fail to do whatever can be done." [1]

Peterborough had by no means the same well-balanced mind. When things go ill we find him set no bounds to his railing; when prosperously he is full of vaunts. Thus from Barcelona at this period he writes to his wife in England: "You see my toils and good intentions are rewarded with perhaps the most remarkable successes that ever were." His tone to the Secretary of State is almost as high: "As to what relates to Spain I am a stranger and a heretic, yet I have the power of a Dictator, of a tyrant, when the King is absent. In truth I do all, but the King himself is made use of to obstruct me almost upon all occasions; and it may be easily conceived how I am with his Ministers whose avarice I cannot satisfy and whose plunder I am obliged to obstruct. . . . I took the liberty to think and inquire—a mortal sin in this country!" [2]

The siege of Barcelona being thus successfully raised, and the public rejoicings over, there was held on the 18th of May a Council of War to determine the further proceedings. A forward movement was expected on the part of the Portugal army; and Peterborough urged upon Charles that theirs should advance also—first proceed to Valencia and thence march upon Madrid. Charles although his personal courage has never been called in question was by no means equally inclined

[1] "Toutes les nouvelles sont accablantes; mais il ne faut point se laisser abattre ni manquer à faire ce qui est possible pour sortir de l'état où nous sommes." Louis XIV à Chamillart, 1 Juin 1706, à onze heures du soir.

[2] To Sir Charles Hedges, June 27, 1706 (MS.). This letter in the transcript fills twenty folio pages closely written. "Lord Peterborough"—so Godolphin says to Marlborough—"has written a volume to Mr. Secretary Hedges." (Coxe's Life, vol. iii. p. 38.)

CHAP. VII. 1706.

to adventurous courses. The advice of Peterborough, therefore only in part prevailed. It was agreed that the Earl should take the leading part, and be conveyed with his infantry by sea, while the horse should march by land to Valencia. Charles meanwhile with his Court and Ministers was to fix his head-quarters at Tortosa and hold himself ready to proceed to Madrid as soon as Peterborough should have cleared the way. It was computed that the Earl would have with him in Valencia nearly 7,000 men, about half of them English; and that an equal number would be left in Catalonia to escort the King and to garrison the fortresses.

Before the close of May accordingly we find Peterborough once again landed from the fleet and fixed at his favourite abode of Valencia—in the brightest of cities and by the bluest of seas. There he applied himself with great zeal to his military objects. He sent forward at once a detachment of 2,000 men under General Wyndham to besiege Requena the only stronghold between him and Madrid. He formed schemes for reducing on his flank the strong castle of Alicant. His singular energy was shown meanwhile in raising a regiment of dragoons with almost unparalleled despatch. He bought them horses, drilled and disciplined them, provided them clothes, arms, and accoutrements, and in six weeks' time had them ready to take the field. At the same time he had another opportunity to manifest his generous temper. There had been many disputes at Barcelona with respect to the money sent from England; Charles claiming it as at his own disposal, and Peterborough pointing out that it was already appropriated to the prescribed services by order of the English Ministers. The Earl loudly complained of the insulting language used to him by the King on this occasion. Nevertheless when in the beginning of July Peterborough received a further sum of 10,000*l.* raised on his own personal credit and all in gold he

disregarded the personal affront and sent the whole to Charles. Unhappily he could not bridle his tongue or pen; nor, even in the midst of his largesses, forbear insulting language also on his side. Thus he writes to Stanhope: "I hope you are not so angry as not to take the money I sent you. I desire you take the King's own note to repay me when he comes to Madrid; and I desire—since he wants twenty pistoles!—that you will let him have it in his own power."

We find Peterborough remember also in the kindest manner some of the Valencian nobles. "Make my compliments to the Marquis of La Casta, to the Count of Villa Franquesa, and to the Count of Cassall, telling them that because I knew they went out of Valencia so suddenly and unprovided I take the liberty to send you two hundred pistoles a piece for them if they have occasion."

The Earl meanwhile was gaining much popular favor in Valencia by his gaiety and his magnificence. He gave both balls and bull-fights, lamenting only that the tamer race of the Valencian bulls deprived the latter festivities of the zest of danger. Nor, indefatigable as he was in his public cares, did he ever want some leisure for love-making. He was by no means duly mindful of his distant consort, the venerable Countess of Peterborough. On the contrary we find him in his letters a few months afterwards commemorate with much satisfaction "my services to the little Marquesa" [3] —the Marchioness that is of La Casta.

On the frontiers of Portugal there was an able chief for Philip; the Duke of Berwick lately advanced to the rank of Maréchal de France. His force had been reduced to 5,000 men by the drafts made from it for

[3] To Gen. Stanhope, Jan. 6, 1707. Peterborough, who was born in 1658, had married—even as a minor it would seem—Carey, daughter of Sir Alexander Fraser of Dotes. Their eldest son, Lord Mordaunt, sat in Parliament so early as 1700.

CHAP. VII. 1706.

the siege of Barcelona, and was ill able to cope with the 18 or 20,000 men of the Allies. As leaders of these last were the Marquis Das Minas and the Earl of Galway; the former for the Portuguese; the latter for the English; and both conjoined as colleagues although Das Minas stood first in seniority of rank. A strange result of civil strife and religious persecution that Berwick an Englishman by both his parents should appear at the head of a French army, and be confronted by Galway a Frenchman by both his parents, yet now in command of English soldiers! So thorough a transposition is scarcely to be traced any where else in History. Berwick seems to have suffered no disparagement from his foreign birth; but it was not so with Galway; and we find his ill-wishers among the other English chiefs, as Peterborough for example, constantly sneering at him as "our French General." Apart from any such unworthy prejudice it can scarcely I think be denied, that he owed his first promotion to his Protestant zeal much more than to his military talents.

It happened besides that Galway, a brave soldier though an indifferent chief, had lost an arm last year at the siege of Badajos. His health since that time had languished, and he was scarcely equal to the toils of high command. Moreover he was unfortunate in being joined to a colleague or rather a superior so stubborn and untoward as the Portuguese Marquis appeared. Thus when Galway seeing the far diminished numbers of Berwick pressed for a speedy advance upon Madrid, Das Minas utterly refused unless the right as the post of honor were yielded to the Portuguese in Spain. Galway sooner than remain inactive gave up the point, and thereby at a later period incurred a censure in Parliament. The House of Lords resolved in 1711 that he had "acted contrary to the honor of the imperial Crown of Great Britain,"[4]—which Crown by the way was

[4] Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 993.

so constituted through the Act of Union with Scotland, and therefore at the time of Galway's concession did not yet exist.

Even with this concession however the Portuguese were to be drawn no further than about half-way to Madrid. They halted at the bridge of Almaraz expressing a desire to return to their own country; and it was with some difficulty that Galway could bring them to the intermediate step of investing the frontier fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo. It held out but seven days; and by that time the Allied chiefs animated by the great news from Barcelona agreed to suspend their dissensions and to resume their advance. First they occupied Salamanca and next they marched upon Madrid. Philip on learning the danger of his capital had at once hastened thither from Perpignan by way of Pamplona, but he arrived only to depart again. He found that it would be impossible to make any effectual stand, and therefore sending his young Queen and his Council of State to establish the seat of government at Burgos he for his own part with a soldierly spirit joined the camp of Berwick on the Guadarrama range.

No further obstacle arising the vanguard of the Allies headed by the Marquis of Villaverde entered the city of Madrid on the 25th of June. Two days later came their main body headed by Galway and Das Minas. They caused King Charles to be solemnly proclaimed but appear to have done little else for his service. They were joined however by some persons of high note hitherto conspicuous on the other side. Thus the Primate of Spain, Cardinal Porto Carrero, not long since chief Minister of Philip, was now living in a kind of honourable exile at his See of Toledo. He combined with the Queen Dowager who was a resident of the same city, and who had always been a German by inclination as by birth. They both eagerly welcomed a squadron of horse sent to Toledo by Das Minas, and hastened to

CHAP. VII. 1703.

acknowledge the Archduke as their rightful Sovereign. The Queen cast off her sables and appeared with her ladies in festival attire, while the Cardinal donning his Archiepiscopal robes chaunted a Te Deum in the Cathedral and gave his solemn benediction to the Austrian standards.

Looking to these and other such defections—considering also the ready acceptance of the Allies in Catalonia and Valencia and their prosperous progress along the Tagus and the Manzanares, it might have been supposed that the cause of Charles was now secure and that of Philip irrecoverably lost. But it speedily appeared that the contest in Spain was not of persons nor yet in truth of politics; it was only a renewal of the ancient strife between the provinces of the Crown of Aragon and the provinces of the Crown of Castille. Had the wishes of the Spaniards themselves at this period been able to prevail, they would have been again as before Ferdinand and Isabella a divided race. The more enthusiasm was shown to Charles by the people of the one Crown, the more did the people of the other grow from indifference to aversion. Galway and Das Minas at Madrid found themselves most coldly received. Few if any of the common rank would join their banner or give aid to their cause; while at the same period both Philip and his Queen, the one in his camp the other in her Court, received for the first time in their reign strong tokens of popular attachment. But on the other hand there now burst forth at Zaragoza a revolution in behalf of Charles—a revolution which seemed to be effected with entire unanimity, and which quickly extended to the whole of Aragon. There were also betrayed to Charles's hands two most renowned strongholds,—Carthagena on the coast of Murcia and Oran on the coast of Barbary.

It seems probable had only some man of active mind filled Charles's place at this period that he might have

turned to good account the popular favour of the east of Spain, and triumphed over or anticipated the not yet developed aversion of Castille. His personal appearance was the one thing needful. So great and so unaccountable seemed his torpor at this critical time that in many places they believed him to be dead. "Several towns," writes Peterborough, "are very obstinate upon that persuasion." And in another letter the Earl observes to Stanhope, "You told me once you wondered at my temper upon the retreat of the Portuguese (from the bridge of Almaraz); but though it may seem strange to retire when there is no enemy, I think it more extraordinary not to advance towards a Crown."[5]

Long before the date of these letters Peterborough had reduced Requena—had sent forward the same detachment to invest Cuenca—and had thus most effectually cleared the way to the capital. Stanhope, as the English Minister at Charles's Court, had been pressing him to carry out the Resolutions of the Council of War held on the 18th of May. But the insurrection along the Ebro had suggested to Charles's mind another scheme. He determined to keep clear of Peterborough and to advance upon Madrid by way of Zaragoza and not by way of Valencia. The true object, as Peterborough vehemently declares in his letters, was that the "Vienna crew" might enrich themselves with the plunder of Aragon. Considering their general character it is far from unlikely that such a motive may have weighed with them. Even the calmer Marlborough writing to Godolphin from Flanders in this same month of July observes that "nothing ever was so weak, so shameful, so unaccountable in every point, as the conduct of the Prince of Lichtenstein and the rest of the King of Spain's German followers." But Charles had another motive of his own. He was extremely offended with Peterborough. The Earl's contemptuous demeanor and

[5] Letters dated Valencia, July 13 and 20, 1706.

CHAP. VII. 1706.

insulting sarcasms had stung him to the quick. "I would not"—he once cried to Mr. Crowe, who had been Stanhope's predecessor at his little Court—"I would not accept of Salvation if it came through Lord Peterborough's hands!"[6] As Stanhope reports to the Secretary of State at this juncture: "I find that he will venture the not going to Madrid at all rather than be carried thither by my Lord." Yet at this very time the Ministers in England little foreseeing such hostility had drawn a still closer tie between the King and Peterborough, and conferred upon the latter the post of Ambassador Extraordinary at the Court of Charles.

After long delays against which Stanhope remonstrated in vain Charles began his advance to Aragon. He did not enter Zaragoza till the 18th of July more than three weeks since the Anglo-Portuguese were at Madrid. Proceeding onwards he sent instructions to Peterborough to march at the same time from Valencia, and to meet him at Pastrana in Castille. There accordingly they made their junction on the 4th of August, the appointed day. But before that time Galway and Das Minas had found it necessary to leave Madrid. Their troops had wasted most rapidly in numbers, in part from the midsummer heats and in part from their own excesses. Full six thousand had gone to the hospitals and of these the greater part had died. Berwick on the other hand had been receiving large reinforcements, and above all the Count of Las Torres who had fled from Valencia with about four thousand men. Thus Berwick became more than a match for the Allied chiefs in the capital. These determined as a measure of prudence to sally forth and join their army to that of Charles, leaving only a few hundred Portuguese to take post at the Royal Palace. But no sooner had they marched from the gates, than the population rose in arms, and a squadron of Spanish

[6] Told by Mr. Crowe himself to Marlborough (Coxe's Life, vol. iii. p. 88). But Mr. Crowe appears to have mistranslated the French word *salut* as "health."

horse rode in. Within two days the Portuguese at the palace were compelled to surrender for want of food; and thus the whole city of Madrid was won back to Philip's power. Salamanca and Toledo in like manner resumed their old allegiance.

Proceeding from Madrid Galway and Das Minas encamped near the small city of Guadalaxara. There on the 5th of August they were joined by the united force of Charles and Peterborough. Each of these divisions appear to have gazed with surprise at the scanty numbers of the other. The Anglo-Portuguese as already shown had much melted away. Stanhope in his despatches home computes them at little more than 3,000 horse and under 10,000 foot. Charles and Peterborough had between them brought 1,400 horse and no more than 2,500 foot; since besides the difficulty of exposing the latter to long and destructive summer marches, it had been necessary to garrison the strongholds left behind them. During this period the army of Berwick had grown by degrees, it was said, to full 20,000 men.

With the Allies the multiplicity of Generals was even a worse evil than the paucity of soldiers. Galway held the older commission, and it was decided this summer by the Ministers in London that in the case of junction Galway should accordingly command. "I think" writes Godolphin "this is right for the Service, but how it may make my Lord Peterborough fly out I cannot answer."[7] It is therefore very highly to Galway's honor that at Guadalaxara he called upon Peterborough and expressed his readiness to serve under his orders until he could obtain his own recall from England. But Das Minas when consulted positively refused to join in the proposal, and insisted on his own seniority of rank, so that if Galway's offer were accepted Peter-

[7] To the Duke of Marlborough, July 19, 1706.

CHAP. VII.

borough would still be controlled by this arrogant and froward Portuguese.

1706. Peterborough devised a plan of his own. He proposed that there should be four distinct Corps d'Armée — himself to command the same English as before with the addition of the Catalan or Valencian levies— Galway the English serving in combination with Das Minas—Das Minas the Portuguese—and the Count de Noyelles the Dutch; each of these Generals to receive no orders except from Charles as King of Spain.[8] Such a scheme might have succeeded when the reference was to some far-famed chief as Marlborough or Eugene; but with a young and inexperienced Prince like Charles it could lead only to confusion and failure. No wonder if Charles himself shrank from the perilous responsibility.

Another offer of Peterborough was to attempt the recovery of Madrid by a COUP DE MAIN, at the head of 5,000 men. Here again he was resisted on the plea of wanting bread. His proud spirit, conscious of great services, chafed at being in such a manner and by such men overruled. It was a situation not unlike to that of Sir Arthur Wellesley when, immediately after gaining the battle of Vimeiro, he found the orders from England place him beneath two other Generals of superior rank and far from equal genius. But Sir Arthur with resolute wisdom remained at his post and Peterborough quitted his. For the Earl in his mortification now proposed to take his departure from the army.

A plea was by no means wanting. Even his first instructions had left him considerable latitude as to assisting the Duke of Savoy. But he had recently received another despatch from the Secretary of State Sir Charles Hedges, dated Whitehall, June the 19th

[8] Letter to the King dated Guadalaxara, August 8, 1706, and printed in Dr. Freind's Account, p. 113; a volume that contains many valuable documents, most unskilfully compiled.

Old Style. When that despatch was written the affairs of the Duke of Savoy were supposed to be in great extremity from the investment of Turin. Sir Charles deemed it "an absolute necessity" to reinforce His Highness, and he therefore enjoined that three at least of the Queen's regiments should be sent to his aid from the coast of Spain. It was left free to Peterborough to join or not to join the expedition as he pleased. This despatch was produced by the Earl at a Council of War held in the palace of Guadalaxara on the 9th of August, and he expressed his wish to act upon it.

Many men of no less genius than Peterborough have on decisive occasions overreached themselves by an exaggerated estimate of their own importance; and it is a hard lesson of life to learn how little we are missed. Considering his talents and his services the English commander may have thought that he should be pressed to stay. But the very contrary happened. Unlike Marlborough he had never understood that conciliation is among the main duties of a chief. His bitter sarcasms both by word and writing had keenly offended those with whom he acted. Soldiers and civilians all rejoiced to be rid of him. King Charles above all was well pleased. Even at Zaragoza so long as Charles believed the Portugal army to be entire and well-established he had urged the Earl by letter to proceed to the Duke of Savoy's aid and assured him that his presence would not be needed at Madrid. Now he warmly commended Peterborough's zeal and entirely approved his design. In another respect also he observed, that besides the relief of the Duke of Savoy the Earl might do good service by his voyage; he might raise among the bankers of Genoa a loan for the subsistence of his army; and with this view the King gave him full authority to mortgage, if it should be requisite, any part of His Majesty's dominions. He might also, it was said, on coming back with the fleet make

CHAP. VII. 1706.

an attempt on Port Mahon; a conquest held to be most important as affording a good haven and enabling the Queen's ships instead of returning home every autumn to winter in the Mediterranean.

With these views and well laden both with full powers and with compliments Peterborough set out once more for the coast. He brought away with him only some fourscore troopers for an escort and was to take on board a part of the foot left behind in Valencia or Alicant. On his journey like a true Knight Errant he did not fail of adventures. Before he could come up with his baggage which was on its way to Madrid it was assailed near the small town of Huete and plundered of plate and other valuables to the amount of at least eight thousand pistoles. Peterborough full of ire threatened condign punishment, and the townspeople full of terror promised ample restitution. They offered to pay down the amount DE CONTADO, that is, in ready money. But Peterborough, ever most generous, would take nothing for himself. He desired that an equal value of their newly reaped corn should be forwarded free of charge for the supply of the army whose command he had just relinquished.

Huete supplied a second incident of quite another kind. It was reported to the Earl that on a threat which he had made of burning the town one of the most beautiful ladies in all Spain had taken refuge in the Convent. This building stood upon a small rising ground within the walls. Peterborough immediately discovered that no spot could be more proper for a fortification. It might be his duty to construct new works; it might be his duty to leave a sufficient garrison. Making no secret of the scheme he went with Captain Carleton as an engineer to inspect the place. It was not long ere the Lady Abbess attended by the fair fugitive sallied forth in great alarm to beseech his kind forbearance. Peterborough listened

with indulgence to her entreaties; and gazed with admiration at her friend. Nothing further was heard of the fortifications; but the Earl appears to have prolonged his stay at Huete for two or three days.

On resuming his journey Peterborough proceeded first to Valencia and next by sea to Alicant. There he hastened by his presence the capitulation of the castle, which by his orders had been for some time past besieged. There he also conferred with the Captains of the fleet and learnt to his infinite mortification that orders from England had come despatching one-half the ships on a special service to the West Indies. This would put an end for the present year at least to all idea of an attack on Port Mahon. There was also news from Italy not as yet officially communicated but told by Rumour with all her thousand tongues—how the Allies had gained a battle—and how the siege of Turin was raised. As sometimes and strangely happens with great events, the first reports were even a little in anticipation of the real fact—the decisive victory achieved by Prince Eugene on the 8th of September.

Tidings such as these might well have induced Peterborough to relinquish or at least suspend his voyage. But he appears at this time to have set his heart upon Italy, and was determined under any circumstances to go onward. A Council of War consisting both of land and sea officers was held in Alicant on the 17th when the members acknowledged the pressing want of funds both in fleet and army "and no money to be hoped for but by the Earl of Peterborough's endeavouring to obtain it at Genoa." Therefore, as the Officers proceed to say, "we have been forced to approve the resolution taken by the said Earl to go in person." It is plain that theirs was by no means a very willing acquiescence. The Earl however embarked, but, considering the news from Italy, decided to leave behind the troops that had been asked.

CHAP. VII. 1706.

Setting sail from Alicant on the 22nd of September, a voyage of seven days brought the English chief to Genoa. There he found most fully confirmed the decisive results of the recent victory. His own part was now to fulfil only the duties of a money-broker for which he was least of all men qualified. But besides these he rashly engaged in some secret negotiations with the Duke of Savoy and other Italian princes —negotiations for which no authority had been given him, and from which no advantage either to himself or to the public ensued.

During this time the Allies had marched from Guadalaxara. Desiring to maintain themselves at least a little longer in Castille they had encamped at Chinchon to the north-east of Aranjuez. Das Minas was pressing that their retreat should be made towards the Portugal frontier; and his wish would have prevailed but that Berwick with his augmented army lay between. The Allies therefore fell back in the opposite direction beyond the borders of Valencia and there took up their winter quarters. They could not prevent Berwick from besieging and retaking their last conquest of Cuenca; and they also relinquished Carthagena which was judged to be not tenable. Thus ingloriously to them ended a campaign which had begun so well.

Nor were their future prospects very cheering. Thus does Stanhope state the case to Godolphin: "I have already hinted to your Lordship the drift of Count Noyelles to form two bodies against next spring, that he may command one of them either alone or under the King. In pursuance of that scheme the Count presses to separate the English troops. My Lord Galway does what he can to keep them together until my Lord Peterborough returns from Italy. If the Queen continues to have two Generals here it may seem proper to have two armies; but if our business be to beat the enemy, I believe we ought to have but one.

CHAP. VII. 1706.

It is I think evident beyond contradiction, that had our forces been joined this summer the work had been finished. We are now extremely weakened and the enemies grow stronger."

In England these events excited no small surprise. We find St. John as Secretary at War address Stanhope as follows in a secret letter: "Whilst we were rejoicing with the Duke of Marlborough in the City over very bad wine, for the great success of Her Majesty's arms in the last campaign, arrived your brother with letters of the 29th of October from Valencia. What a wretched condition are our affairs in Spain reduced to! And how practicable an enterprise is become desperate! I do not undertake to give you an account of the reflections which people here make on this subject, nor of the measures which the Queen takes to retrieve the great disadvantages which have been sustained in Spain. No doubt but our new Secretary of State my Lord Sunderland does this at large. My own opinion is, that the Court you have to do with must be new-modelled, and that the King stands as much in need of able Ministers as of good troops. . . . . My Lord Rivers will be with you long before this letter, and with this reinforcement I hope you will be in a condition to support and extend yourselves. I do not yet know what troops, if any, will be sent to Portugal, but sure a diversion must be made on that side; and none of any consequence can be expected unless to a body of Portuguese there be joined a head from our troops." [9]

During the whole of this year Marlborough was intent on diplomacy no less than on war. By the desire of his colleagues in England he had sought to obtain from the Dutch and subsequently from other Powers a guarantee of the Protestant Succession. The Dutch however declined any positive answer. Their

[9] Letter dated Whitehall, December 24, 1706 (MS.).

CHAP. VII. 1706.

object was to require in return a settlement of their Barrier according to their pretensions; and their pretensions were now most unreasonably high. They desired not merely some cautionary fortresses, such as they held before the war; but whole districts and even provinces to be added to their dominions. Such a scheme was by no means agreeable to England, and it was of course most bitterly resented by the Emperor at whose own or brother's expense it would have to be effected. The displeasure was not confined to the Cabinets of Vienna and St. James's, nor yet limited to this subject alone. "It is certain"—so writes Marlborough at this time—"that the Dutch carry everything with so high a hand as not to be beloved anywhere."[1]

Other discussions with Holland arose from the offers of France. King Louis had for some time past earnestly desired to put an end to the war; and the recent disasters to his arms in Flanders, in Italy, in Spain, added of course not a little to his pacific resolutions. For this object he made overtures through divers channels. One by the Elector of Bavaria seemed at first to be without his sanction or knowledge and on the Elector's own account. Another more direct came from Count Bergueick, Intendant of the Netherlands, to Pensionary Heinsius. It was as yet only tentative and not officially avowed. But the proposals comprised the relinquishment to the Archduke of Spain and the Indies—a Barrier for the Dutch Republic—a recognition of Queen Anne's title—and considerable commercial advantages to both the Maritime Powers on condition that the kingdom of Naples with Sicily and Milan should remain as a separate sovereignty to Philip. Even the mere rumour of such terms made a great impression on the Dutch. As Marlborough writes to Godolphin, "It is publicly said at the Hague, that France is reduced to what she ought to be, and that if the war should be

[1] To the Lord Treasurer, from Grametz, Sept. 20, 1706.

carried further it would serve only to make England greater than it ought to be."

It was not long before the Pensionary in confidence consulted the Duke upon these terms; and here is the Duke's answer. "As a good Englishman I must be of the opinion of my country, that both by treaty and interest we are obliged to preserve the monarchy of Spain entire. At the same time as a friend I must acknowledge that I believe France can hardly be brought to a peace unless something be given to the Duke of Anjou, so that he may preserve the title of King. I think that of Milan is unreasonable since it would make France master of the Duke of Savoy and all Italy." But within a few weeks the objections of Marlborough grew far more intense. We find him say to Godolphin: "As yet nothing has been proposed but a Partition Treaty, which is not only dishonourable to the Allies but in length of time destruction."[2] Acting on these latter views, and straining to the utmost his influence with the ruling statesmen in Holland, Marlborough prevailed so far that the public proposal of France—to open conferences for the negotiation of peace—was solemnly declined, the Dutch Deputies declaring that the Republic would abide by its Allies, and accept no overtures for a pacification without their concurrence and approval. Thus was the continuance of the war decided; and both parties prepared for the next campaign.

On reviewing these transactions we may probably incline to think that the zeal of Marlborough against France carried him much too far. Even admitting to be valid the objection against the relinquishment of Milan to Philip, no such objection would apply against his retention of Naples and Sicily. It would have been a Treaty of Partition such as King William had planned and many leading statesmen, Marlborough himself in-

[2] Letters of Marlborough, August 21 and November 16, 1706.

CHAP. VII. 1706.

cluded, had agreed to. Why then should that Partition which was so readily adopted in 1700 be so bitterly denounced in 1706? It might be deemed inadequate after the glorious successes of Marlborough and Eugene, but how could it have become such utter "dishonour and destruction?"

For my part it does appear to me, as I have elsewhere argued, that the Treaty of Partition during the lifetime of Charles the Second was insulting and unjust. But after the decease of that monarch and his Will in favor of France—after the acceptance of that Will by both the Maritime Powers and by other European States—I conceive that the question had changed. To surrender Spain and the Indies besides the Netherlands to the next Prince of the House of Austria as France now proposed to do was to yield the very gist of the dispute. Instead of distant cousins and not friends, as with Leopold and Charles the Second of Spain, it would place two brothers bound in close amity and concert on the thrones of Vienna and Madrid. It would thus provide in the most efficient manner an equipoise to the might of France, and enable the Allies without any future risk to assign Naples and Sicily, and perhaps Milan also, as the portion of the retiring King of Spain. I therefore presume to think as did the Dutch statesmen of the time, that the offer of Louis, though no doubt not spontaneous, though no doubt extorted from him by his late reverses, did in fact concede the main object and design of the Grand Alliance, and might well have been accepted as at least the basis of negotiations. Had a peace on that basis ensued it would have averted a large effusion both of blood and treasure in the years to come, and would have secured to the Allies far better terms as regarded the probable balance of power than they finally were able to attain.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAP. VIII. 1706.

THE basis for the Union with Scotland having been determined, the Commissioners on both sides applied themselves with vigour to their task. Several of them showed themselves able in their conduct, and many persevering and pertinacious in their claims. But by degrees the genius of Somers won to itself a quiet preeminence, and it was to him rather than to any other person that the prosperous result should in justice be ascribed.

By far the hardest to adjust were the questions of taxation and trade. Debates on them were continued from the 29th of April to the 7th of June. It was proposed by the English Commissioners in one comprehensive phrase "that there be the same customs, excises, and all other taxes, and the same prohibitions, restrictions and regulations of trade throughout the united kingdom of Great Britain." The Scottish Commissioners desired rather to discuss the matter in detail; and their wish was granted; but they quickly came to the same conclusion so far as trade was concerned. Points of taxation on the contrary were fought one by one. It was pleaded on behalf of Scotland that before that country would be able to bear its part in the heavier imposts of England it must enjoy for some years to come the prosperous fruits of the Union. On these grounds it was asked and finally it was conceded that there should be granted to Scotland an exemption from certain taxes, those especially which by Acts of the English Parliament were at a fixed period to determine. Such were the Window Duties and a portion of

CHAP. VIII. 1706. the Stamp Duties expiring on the 1st of August 1710, and the tax on coals to cease on the 30th of September the same year. The Salt Duty was more difficult to deal with as being permanent in England; and the Scotch felt its great importance since it bore so much on their curing of fish. At last it was agreed that they should enjoy an exemption for a limited period, namely seven years.

Moreover the English Commissioners had even from the outset owned that since Scotland would sustain an immediate loss from an uniform system of taxation, England might in justice be expected to offer compensation by an immediate payment of money. This sum thus acknowledged in principle, though at first undefined in amount, was discussed under the name of "the Equivalent." Scottish writers have acknowledged that the idea once promulgated tended not a little to reconcile the Scottish statesmen to this measure. It smoothed away a whole host of difficulties real or pretended; it served, as Dr. Johnson once observed of public dinners, "to lubricate business."

To fix the exact sum for this Equivalent proved far from an easy task. Statements and calculations in great detail were now produced.[1] It was computed that the total revenue of England came to 5,691,803*l.*, that of Scotland to only 160,000*l.* Even this amount was not, as in the case of England, actual but in some measure prospective; since it included the addition—laid on it is true with a most gentle and forbearing hand—which it was designed to make to the Scottish Land-tax, raising it from 3,600*l.* a year to no more than 48,000*l.* as against the 2,000,000*l.* which the same impost produced in England. These last numbers, even allowing for the

[1] These documents are inserted in the Second Appendix to De Foe's very ponderous History of the Union (i. vol. folio, 1709). But Mr. Burton who took the pains to verify them found that De Foe has put them together with great carelessness, and that the numbers are not always correctly balanced (Hist. of Scotland, note at vol. i. p. 412).

great indulgence shown on this occasion to the lesser kingdom, manifest how very small when compared to the English were at this time the incomes of the Scottish landowners. Feudal power indeed might make them some amends. They had heritable jurisdiction where their brethren of the south had comfortable rent-rolls; the service of men instead of the payment of money.

The debts of England partly permanent and in part for terms of years gave a total of 17,763,842*l.*, while those of Scotland were so complex and varying between nominal and real that they were found to be incapable of any quite accurate statement. They were taken in round numbers at 160,000*l.*, being one year of the annual revenue. These Scottish obligations it was intended to discharge at once, so that there might be only one National Debt for the one united kingdom. In the same spirit regulations were framed to establish an uniform coinage and also an uniform system of weights and measures.[2] Some discontent was felt that in these cases there was no reciprocity; the standard of England being always adopted as the rule. Yet it might not unfairly be pleaded that the customs of the majority if adopted were the more likely to gain a footing and prevail in the entire island; and that if some temporary inconvenience must result even from the changes that tend most to lasting good, it was best that this inconvenience should be borne by what was at that time incomparably the smaller and the less commercial people.

With these documents before them, and computing as best they might the probable results of an uniform or nearly uniform system of taxation, the Commissioners

[2] For the currency in Scotland at this period see especially Leake's Historical Account of English Money, p. 400, ed. 1745. Among these Scottish coins is mentioned "a Darien pistole of King William." Was there also a Glencoe pistole?

CHAP. VIII. 1706.

finally fixed the Equivalent at 398,085*l.* 10*s.* This sum when duly voted by the House of Commons was to be applied—partly in payment of the public debts of Scotland—partly in payment of the stockholders of the Darien Company with interest, that Company itself to be dissolved—and partly in compensation for losses by the coinage. The surplus, it was stipulated, should be spent in the promotion of the Scottish fisheries and such other "manufactories and improvements" in Scotland as might tend to the prosperity of the United kingdom.

So great had been the difficulties which attended these financial questions that the Commissioners more than once almost despaired of solving them. The Queen was advised that her presence might perhaps promote a satisfactory conclusion. It appears from the Minutes that Her Majesty did accordingly attend the Meetings upon two occasions, when she sat down in her Chair of State, exhorted the Commissioners to despatch, and heard the Proposals and Resolutions read.

As the financial questions drew near to a settlement the political were found far more easy to adjust. It was agreed that Great Britain should be the designation of the united island; the name of Scotland to be merged in the name of North Britain. It was agreed that the Crosses of St. George and St. Andrew should be conjoined in the flag of the united kingdom. It was agreed that the Arms of the two countries—the three lions passant and guardant Or, and the lion rampant Or, within a double tressure flory and counterflory, Gules—should be quartered with all heraldic honours. It was agreed that the united kingdom should have a new Great Seal.

As regards the House of Commons the English party proposed that Scotland should be represented by thirty-eight members. Even Scottish writers have observed that if taxation be taken as the measure of representa-

tion, and if it be remembered that the Scots of that time had asked and been allowed to limit their share of the Land-tax to one-fortieth of the share of England, it would follow that as an addition to the 513 members of Parliament returned by England, Scotland was entitled to demand no more than thirteen. But even thirty-eight seemed by no means adequate to the claims on other grounds of that ancient and renowned kingdom. The Scottish Commissioners stood out for an increase, and the English Commissioners finally conceded forty-five.

The Peers of England were at this juncture 185 and the Peers of Scotland 154. It was intended that the latter should send representatives to the former, and the proportion was settled according to the precedent that was just decided. The 45 members from Scotland when added to the 513 from England would make one-twelfth of the whole; and 16 Peers from Scotland when added to the 185 from England would also make about one-twelfth of the whole. Sixteen was therefore the number adopted; and the mode of election both of Commoners and Peers was left to be determined by the Parliament of Scotland, before the day appointed for the Union, that is the first of May 1707.

By this treaty Scotland was to retain her heritable jurisdiction, her Court of Session and her entire system of law. The Presbyterian Church as by law established was to continue unaltered, having been indeed excluded from debate by the express terms of the Commission.[3] Such then was the tenor of the Articles of Union as subscribed at the Cockpit on the 22nd of July, 1706, and next day in due form presented to Her Majesty. Some few of the Commissioners were however on divers grounds absent or dissentient. Of the thirty-one on

[3] "Quod licitum non erit dictis Commissionariis de alteratione cultûs disciplinae aut regiminis ecclesiae Scoticanae ut nunc per leges stabilita sunt ullo modo tractare." Scottish Commission, dated Feb. 27, 1706.

CHAP. VIII. 1706.

either side the Articles were signed by twenty-seven of the English and twenty-six of the Scots.

"It has been observed of the Treaty which was projected in 1706 and accomplished in 1707, that it was indeed a great blessing both to England and Scotland, but a blessing because in constituting one State it left two Churches.[4] There seems to be implied some praise on that account to the framers of the Scottish Union and some blame to the framers of the Irish. In truth however both the praise and the blame are undeserved. The framers of each measure did no more than leave untouched and confirm the Church which they found established. To propose a new establishment in either country would have been at these periods the wildest of all wild schemes. In 1707 any attempt for the restoration of Prelacy would have stirred up such a storm of passion north of Tweed as would have made an Union utterly impossible. In 1800 it might have been feasible to endow the Roman Catholic priests as Mr. Pitt proposed, but the idea of rendering their's the Established Church of Ireland in the place of the Protestant never it may be said even entered the minds of any statesman of that time.

The Articles of Union having been by Lord Somers laid before the Queen, and Her Majesty having in gracious terms received them, there remained the not less necessary duty of submitting them to both the Legislatures. It was resolved by the Government with excellent policy that they should be first decided by the Parliament of Scotland, so as to avoid any, even the smallest, appearance of constraint or compulsion on the part of the more powerful country.

With this view the meeting of the English Parliament was deferred, while the next and as it proved the last Session of the Scottish began on the 3rd of October.

[4] See the remarks to that effect of Lord Macaulay in his History of England, vol. iii. p. 257.

CHAP. VIII.

1706.

It had been resolved after much deliberation to send once more the Duke of Queensberry as Lord High Commissioner, and it must be owned that this choice was justified by the result. His Grace appears to have profited by past experience, and in the arduous task which was now assigned him to have shown no lack of sagacity and skill. With him went as Secretary of State the Earl of Mar, a young nobleman of ready talents but versatile politics, recently connected with the Tory if not the Jacobite party. "Many of them," says Lockhart of Carnwath, "esteemed him an honest man and well inclined to the Royal family"—that is, to the exiled House.[5] How fatally for himself that attachment was manifested nine years afterwards my readers need scarcely be reminded. He had been one of the Commissioners for Scotland at the Cockpit conferences, and distinguished himself by his active and useful support of the Government scheme.

The Session was opened as usual by the reading of a Royal Letter, in which the Queen earnestly pressed the proposal for an Union, which she said "will secure your religion, liberty and property, and remove the animosities among yourselves." For the moment however these animosities were only the more inflamed. Eagerly and promptly did the divers parties array themselves for battle. The Government had secured the powerful aid of that well-organised section which was called the Flying Squadron. They had also on their side by no means all but a large part of those who were interested in the progress of trade and manufacture, and who had the sagacity to foresee how greatly these would be promoted by a thorough incorporation with England. Opposed to them there was in the first place the compact phalanx of the Jacobites, or as they termed themselves the Cavaliers. There were also many men with no kind of leaning to the Exiled Family but jealous in their national pride,

[5] Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 114.

CHAP. VIII. 1706.

and deeply impressed with the persuasion that the honor and independence of their country were now at stake. As the foremost of this class may be named Fletcher of Saltoun and Lord Belhaven.

But the strangest alliance that the friends of the Stuarts formed at this time was with those whom so long as they held the power they had mercilessly persecuted—with whom in the evil days of Charles the Second their favourite arguments had been the boot and thumbscrew—I mean the so-called "hill-folk," the followers of Richard Cameron. These men viewed with horror any closer union with a country which was like England embued with the abominable sin of Prelacy. Sooner than admit such an idea they were ready to make common cause with their ancient persecutors.

But it was not the Cameronians only. The Earl of Marchmont writing at this juncture to Lord Somers complains of the Ministers of the Kirk "whereof" he declares "by far the greater part being young men of little experience and warm zeal are too easily imposed upon." Thus in some cases at least they gave ready access to the jealousies that were industriously instilled into them; and of these jealousies the Earl of Marchmont further writes: "Truly, my Lord, they have no foundation save one, that is the reckoning and judging the Protestants in England of all degrees and ranks to be void of not only all conscience and honor but of humanity itself."[6]—We may conclude however from other authorities, that in fact only a small minority of these Kirk Ministers took part with the opposition.

In the Highlands the common people at this period busied themselves little with State affairs. In the Lowlands so far as can be traced they had at the outset no ill feeling to an Union. But every passion was now appealed to and every prejudice inflamed by a host of

[6] Letter dated Edinburgh, Nov. 9, 1706, and printed in the Marchmont Papers, vol. iii. p. 303.

pamphlets which the Jacobites put forth. To the Jacobites indeed it seemed a question of life and death. The settlement by law of the Succession in the Hanover line would preclude all uncertainty at the demise of the Crown and leave no scope for the heir whom they designed.

Directed from a central Junta there now came up Addresses from divers counties and towns praying the Parliament not to pass the Union. These Addresses, though they make a good show in their enumeration, appear to have lacked weight in their signatures. Certain it is that the dominant party paid them no regard. "They will serve to make kites," so speaking in Parliament said the Duke of Argyle.

Edinburgh however was of course the place where the opponents of the measure could make the largest play. There the Union would no doubt entail upon the shop-keepers some loss of custom; upon the burgesses some loss of dignity. There it was natural that some ferment should arise. A crowd had been wont to gather in the High Street in the afternoons, since the meeting of the Parliament, to do honor to the Duke of Hamilton as chief of the Anti-Unionist Peers. It was their habit to escort the sedan-chair of His Grace back to his apartments in Holyrood. On the 23rd of October, as it chanced, there was a larger crowd than usual though consisting chiefly of apprentices and boys. It chanced also that they were disappointed of their Duke who had gone to visit another Peer. Upon this, as the next best pastime in their power, they went to assail the house of a former Lord Provost, a man of the opposite side. The tumult was of the slightest kind and quelled with the utmost ease by a party of soldiers from the Castle, but it was magnified into some importance by the exaggerations of party writers.

By that time the Parliament had already sat three weeks. It had been employed in some preliminary

CHAP. VIII. 1706.

skirmishes on the Minutes of the late Commission—the object being for each party to try its strength and determine its future course. But now the promoters of the measure deemed it right to bring its general principle to a decisive issue. Shall there be an Union on any possible terms?—such was the question raised by a vote to be taken on the 4th of November upon the first Article, with the understanding (in their own words) "that if the other articles of the Union be not adjusted by the Parliament then the agreeing to and approving of the first shall be of no effect." There ensued a great debate well worthy the solemn occasion. Seton of Pitmedden, one of the Commission, spoke a well-reasoned essay in support of the measure. Against it the Duke of Hamilton delivered a spirited harangue. We may conclude that Argyle and Mar and many others would not be wanting. But beyond all doubt the palm of oratory was borne off by Lord Belhaven. That nobleman then fifty years of age[7] was of Revolution principles, and had commanded a troop of horse for King William at the battle of Killiecrankie. Bluff and burly of aspect—looking like a butcher as his adversaries said—and with little or no experience of public speaking—he rose undauntedly to the height of this great argument. He was sustained by an inward and impelling sense of right, by the consciousness that he was pursuing no selfish object nor underhand intrigue, by the conviction however unfounded that his country was now on the brink of dishonor and of ruin. His speech against the whole scheme of Union, carefully elaborated, was among the most striking and successful that the record of Parliament displays.

It is worthy of note that this speech while intended

[7] Mr. Burton (Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 450) describes him at the time of his speech as "the young Lord Belhaven." But Douglas's very accurate Peerage of Scotland gives the exact date of his birth as July 8, 1656.

to produce, and in fact producing, a strong popular effect, abounds with refined and classical allusions which do not seem well adapted to the lower classes. Its gloomy prophecies however are within the reach of all. With these the orator sets out. He has thirteen paragraphs, each worked out with artistic skill, to show how the divers ranks and classes in Scotland would suffer from an Union if it passed; and each commencing "I think I see." Of these paragraphs here follow (with one exception) the four last.

"I think I see the honest industrious tradesman loaded with new taxes and impositions, disappointed of the equivalents, drinking water in the place of ale, eating his saltless pottage, petitioning for encouragement to his manufactories and answered by counter-petitions.—I think I see the laborious ploughman with his corn spoiling upon his hands for want of sale, cursing the day of his birth, dreading the expense of his burial, and uncertain whether to marry or do worse. —I think I see the incurable difficulties of the landed men, fettered under the golden chain of equivalents, their pretty daughters petitioning for want of husbands, and their sons for want of employments.—But above all, my Lord, I think I see our ancient mother Caledonia like Cæsar sitting in the midst of our Senate, ruefully looking round about her, covering herself with her Royal garment, attending the fatal blow and breathing out her last with a ET TU QUOQUE MI FILI!"

In another part of his speech Lord Belhaven exclaims: "We may bruise this Hydra of division, and crush this cockatrice's egg. Our neighbours in England are not yet fitted for any such thing. They are not under the afflicting hand of Providence as we are. Their circumstances are great and glorious; their Treaties are prudently managed both abroad and at home; their Generals brave and valorous, their armies successful and victorious, their trophies and laurels memorable and surprising . .

CHAP. VIII. 1706.

. . and above all, these vast riches, the sinews of war, and without which all the glorious success had proved abortive. . . . It is quite otherwise with us, my Lord. We are an obscure poor people though formerly of better account; removed to a remote corner of the world, without name and without alliances, our posts mean and precarious. . . . What hinders us then, my Lord, to lay aside our divisions, to unite cordially and heartily together in our present circumstances, when our all is at stake? Hannibal, my Lord, is at our gates; Hannibal is come within our gates; Hannibal is come the length of this Table; he is at the foot of this Throne; he will demolish this Throne if we take no notice; he will seize upon these Regalia; he will take them as our SPOLIA OPIMA; and whip us out of this House never to return again. For the love of God then, my Lord; for the safety and welfare of our ancient kingdom, whose sad circumstances I hope we shall convert into prosperity and happiness!"

To this noble piece of declamation there was no counter-argument at the time attempted. Only after a pause the veteran Marchmont rose up and said amidst laughter and cheering: "My Lord, I have heard a long speech and a very terrible one, but I think a short answer will suffice and it may be given in these words: 'Behold he dreamed; but lo! when he awoke, he found it was a dream.'"

The division that ensued, like most other divisions in our Parliamentary annals, seemed to be scarcely at all affected by the preceding eloquence. There were 116 votes in favor of the Article and 83 against it. Hence we see that the Flying Squadron, of which the force is given by one of its chiefs as 24,[8] held at the outset the fate of the measure in its hands.

But although the speech of Lord Belhaven might not convince nor even charm his audience it was far otherwise with his readers. The speech was immediately

[8] Earl of Marchmont to Lord Somers, Nov. 9, 1706.

printed and reprinted in thousands of copies. It flew from mouth to mouth and from hand to hand. Scarce any broad-sheet that did not reproduce some passages. Chiming in as it did with many noble sentiments and also with some narrow prejudices, it made a lasting impression upon the Scottish people; and is to be ranked as one main cause of the unpopularity into which shortly afterwards the Act of Union fell. CHAP. VIII. 1706.

Up to this time the opponents of the Union had prevailed upon one point only which the Ministerial party did not care to risk the displeasure of the Kirk by gainsaying. This was the appointment of a solemn fast in expiation of the sins of the land. The day of fasting and humiliation was held accordingly on Thursday the 7th of November; and among the sermons then delivered were some which upbraided the chosen people for lukewarmness. This was especially the case at Glasgow the stronghold of the Cameronians. One zealous preacher closed his discourse with the words. "Wherefore up and be valiant for the city of our God." The drum was beat in the back-streets that very afternoon. Next day it grew to a riot, when the mob assailed and broke open the Provost's house, while the Provost himself, as we are told, with infinite prudence "retired for a while out of town, not knowing what the issue of these things might be."[9] The rioters were however satisfied with compelling signatures to an Address against the Union. On the morrow they quietly dispersed and the Provost who had fled to Edinburgh came home again.

Timidity in high places produced the usual fruits. Within a few days there was a renewal of the riot, this time fiercer than the last. The Provost on this occasion

[9] De Foe's History of the Union, part iii. p. 61. The author goes on to praise this Provost, Mr. Aird, most highly as "an honest, sober, discreet gentleman, who was exceedingly beloved." He might have completed the character by a line from Dryden: "And ever, save in time of need, at hand."

CHAP. VIII. 1706.

hid himself in a bed, which seems to have been by far the fittest place for him; and then he fled to Edinburgh for the second time. For some time the rabble were masters of the streets. They challenged every man they met with the question: "Are you for the Union?" and no man durst avow it but at great peril. Nevertheless the outrages committed were extremely few, and not a drop of blood was shed.

In a few other places also there were some attempts at disturbance, but far slighter than at Glasgow and by no means such as to imply as yet any general aversion to the pending measure. Even in the accounts of Glasgow there is reason to suspect some exaggeration. Both parties had a motive for it: the Tories to enhance the popularity of their opposition; the Whigs to excuse the pusillanimity of their magistrates.

In the meantime the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church which was sitting at Edinburgh sent in petitions to the Parliament, praying that there should be some further safeguards for "the true Protestant Religion as by law established," and also representing "the increase of Popery, profanity and other irregularities." It was thereupon resolved that instead of leaving the Presbyterian Church wholly untouched by the Act of Union, and of course secured by the preceding Acts of Parliament, there should be new legislation of the most stringent kind to declare its permanency. There was introduced and carried through what was termed the Act of Security, with a stipulation that it should be repeated as part of any Act adopting the treaty of Union both in Scotland and in England. It provided that the Presbyterian Church government as then by law established should be for ever unalterable, and be the only government of the Church within the kingdom of Scotland. Still further to secure this object an oath in accordance with it was required from the Sovereign, not as in England at the Coronation but at

his or her accession to the Throne; and there was also a test of conformity imposed on the Professors of the Scottish Universities and the teachers at the Scottish schools.

It was rather to the surprise of the zealous Presbyterians when they found this Act of Security even in its most stringent clauses readily supported by the Jacobites. The motives of the last named party are not hard to fathom. They foresaw that to establish for evermore the Presbyterian form in Scotland, and to declare it at the same time "the true Protestant Religion," would give great offence to all English High-Churchmen, and might incline them to resist the measure as a whole.

Besides the Act of Security the Scottish Parliament was at this time busy with the Articles of Union discussed one by one. Considering the principle of the measure as affirmed by the great division taken on the first the leading politicians next applied themselves to matters of detail. During the whole remainder of this year they were keenly debating small points of excise and finance. They succeeded in gaining several advantages for Scotland beyond those of the Government scheme. Thus for instance they carried an addition to the sixth article with the view of extending the bounties on divers kinds of grain to the case also of oats which had been passed by as of small account in England. We must remember that the common Scottish use of this their national food had in past times drawn upon them many an ungenerous and unseemly taunt from their richer neighbours. So late as 1755 even so great a mind as Dr. Johnson's could stoop to this silly prejudice. It is well known that in the first edition of his Dictionary there was a description as follows appended to the article OATS: "A grain which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people."

It might be said however that at this juncture the

CHAP. VIII. 1706.

English statesmen were less intent on Legislative than on Ministerial changes. The great question of Lord Sunderland's appointment was now brought to a decisive issue. Godolphin had for a long time pressed it, and subsequently Marlborough also. They were moved by the increased necessity of securing Whig support. But Anne had been resolute against it. Besides some unfavorable rumours that had reached her as to the young Earl's impetuosity of temper, she remembered with no unnatural bitterness the treachery of his father to hers. The Duchess of Marlborough had sought during many months to overcome these scruples. There is still extant the ample and curious correspondence on this subject between her and the Queen.

It would seem from this correspondence and from the accounts of her conduct and demeanor about this time, as if elated by the long possession of favor, she had gradually lost the arts by which that favor was acquired. She forgot the respect that was due to her Royal mistress. She gave the rein more and more to her imperious temper and her railing tongue. No wonder then if Anne, though tenacious of ancient friendships, felt her affection for the Duchess cool. No wonder if in this sharp controversy the foundation was laid for that entire estrangement which shortly afterwards ensued.

On this occasion however the return from the Continent of Marlborough who added his personal entreaties, and a renewed threat of resignation from Godolphin, wrought the desired effect. The Queen though with the utmost reluctance consented to the appointment of Sunderland in the place of Hedges. The new Secretary of State was announced on the 3rd of December; the very day that Parliament met. This Session so long deferred was opened by the Queen herself. Then on the surface at least there appeared

great unanimity. The expressions in the Royal Speech on the projected Union were warmly re-echoed. The supplies required for the public service were rapidly passed. There was a general assent to Votes of Thanks to the Duke of Marlborough for his splendid victory at Ramillies; and to a Bill by which, on the failure of a son, his Dukedom and domain were settled on his daughters in succession and their issue male. There were also on account of these successes two triumphal processions before the close of the year; the one when the standards and colours taken in the battle were set up as trophies in Guildhall; the other when on the day appointed for a General Thanksgiving the Queen attended by the great officers of State and by both Houses of Parliament went in person to St. Paul's. 1706.

In the course of this December there were also divers promotions and creations in the peerage—all or nearly all in favor of the Whigs. Three Earls—Kent, Lindsey, and Kingston—were raised to Marquesses. The Lord Treasurer was made an Earl, as were also Lord Wharton, Lord Poulett, and Lord Cholmondeley. A peerage with the rank of a Baron was granted to the Lord Keeper and to Sir Thomas Pelham.

The plain tendency of all these favors was, as may be supposed, far from pleasing to the Tories. They were further chafed at the tidings which came to them from Edinburgh, that the Government had yielded the clauses providing for the perpetuity of the Presbyterian Church. No sooner then did Parliament meet after the Christmas holidays than their ire broke forth. On the 14th of January after solemn notice the Earl of Nottingham brought forward this last subject in the House of Lords. "Since," he said, "the Parliament of Scotland has thought fit to secure the Presbyterian Church Government in that kingdom, it becomes the wisdom of the Parliament of England to provide betimes against the dangers with which our Church by law 1707.

CHAP. VIII. 1707.

established is threatened in case the Union be accomplished. And therefore I move that the proceedings in Scotland shall be laid before us."

In the debate which followed Nottingham was supported by the other Opposition chiefs—Rochester and Buckingham—while Godolphin argued that the matter was not yet ripe for them to discuss. The leaders of the Whigs—Somers, Halifax, and Wharton—spoke in the same sense; and the independent Peers showed so little favor to the motion that Nottingham was induced to withdraw it.

In the Commons the High Tory resentment found another issue. St. John as Secretary at War produced an Account of some Extraordinary Charges, not provided for in last year's estimates. There were subsidies to the Kings of Portugal and Denmark and to the Duke of Savoy, as also to several of the smaller German Princes; there were services not foreseen arising from the Spanish campaign; and the whole sum fell little short of one million sterling. It was moved that these sums had been advanced "against the common enemy and for the safety and honour of the nation;" but the Tories interposed with the previous question and divided the House, when the Government prevailed by 254 votes against 105.[1]

On one point only there was still entire unanimity. All parties joined in the readiness to grant on behalf of the nation some further recompense to the hero of Ramillies. An Act of Parliament was passed on the recommendation of the Queen to settle a pension of 5,000*l.* a year out of the revenue of the Post Office upon the Dukes of Marlborough in due descent for ever. But on other matters so sharp had been the altercation between the High Tories and the Ministers, that it seemed to render the breach between them

[1] Commons Journals, January 27, 1707. These numbers are wrongly given in the Parliamentary History, vol. vi. p. 551.

irreparable. The Queen was prevailed on by the last to visit the former with a signal mark of her displeasure. Accordingly the names of Buckingham, Nottingham, and Rochester, with some others, were struck off from the list of the Privy Council.

At Edinburgh meanwhile the Scottish Parliament going through the Articles of Union had nearly approached the termination of its labours. There was rising by degrees much popular discontent against the measure; which the leaders of the Jacobites observed with joy and reported with exaggeration. They urged in secret letters and messages to Versailles and St. Germain's that no moment could be so opportune for the invasion of the kingdom by a well-appointed French force. To await the result of these representations their great object in the Legislature was delay, but that object being seen through by the other parties was but seldom permitted to prevail.

The crisis at Edinburgh was now at hand. A few days more and the Act of Union would have passed. The Jacobites saw that they must relinquish their hopes of foreign invasion. But there still remained to them the chance of civil war. To clear the way to this there was prepared on the part of the Jacobites and at the Duke of Hamilton's house, it is not clear by whose hand, an able state-paper which is still preserved. It bears the form of a Protest, and sets forth that the members of a legislature are mere temporary administrators of their trust, and not the owners or masters of a people. They are not entitled to bargain away the nation they represent or make it cease to exist. Therefore they of the minority, entertaining these sentiments, would now secede from the others protesting against what it was designed to do, and in their secession would consider themselves the centre of a new Scottish Parliament.

The time selected for this manifestation was the

CHAP. VIII. 1707.

debate on the twenty-second Article which fixed and limited the Scottish share in the Imperial legislature. As such it was most fiercely fought, renewing in divers forms the animosities which had recently raged. It bore within it moreover the germ of religious as well as of political contests, since in the declaration which it required from the Peers and Commoners to be hereafter chosen it rigidly adhered to the terms of the English Act of Charles the Second, "by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament." No more favourable time could be found for the minority to break away.

It was further intended, though perhaps not expressly stipulated, it being assumed as almost a matter of course that the Duke of Hamilton the Premier Peer should be the person to present, or as termed in Scotland "table" the Protest. The leader after performing this office was then to walk out of the House followed by the Opposition in a body. Towards that body the popular risings might henceforth be directed; around it might gather men of the most opposite opinions on all other subjects —Republicans and Royalists, Roman Catholics and Cameronians. Beyond doubt it was a well concerted scheme. Some rumours of it had been allowed to go abroad; and thus on the appointed day the avenues of the Parliament House were thronged with eager crowds, while the members of the Opposition sat ranged on their benches and ready for the move. But at the last moment their chief His Grace of Hamilton failed them. Some among them have imputed his failure to his tortuous machinations; far more probably it was owing only to his timid character. First he sent word that he had a toothache and could not come. Next when he did appear he asked some of his confederates with an innocent air whom they had appointed to table the Protest —since he certainly could not, though ready when tabled to give it his adherence. The other members

confounded by this check and suspecting some treachery behind it lost all heart and spirit and gave up all thoughts of their scheme.

Of these Articles of Union, twenty-five in all, the twenty-second was the last that presented any difficulties or provoked any trial of numbers. But on several points in this the contention was long and keen. On the first day six separate Protests were presented by dissentient members; on the next a Protestation against the Protests from the Earl of Marchmont; then again a counter-Protestation against Marchmont's from Lord Balmerino. Among the Amendments moved to this Article there was one that the Parliament of Great Britain should hold its Session once every third year in Scotland. A very judicious writer of our own day, Mr. Burton, has pointed out that this motion was not prompted by any popular feeling, it being scarcely even mentioned in the histories or pamphlets of the time. It was, he thinks, made only as a matter of form and not at all pressed.[2]

The passing of this twenty-second Article was marked by a tragical incident.—John Dalrymple, Master of Stair, only too well known by that name in the dark deed of 1692, had succeeded his father the first Viscount in 1695 and been created Earl of Stair, greatly to the discredit of the Government, in 1703. As one of the Scottish Commissioners for the Treaty of Union, and afterwards as a Peer in the Scottish Parliament, he had zealously applied himself to forward and promote that measure. Thus on the sitting of the 7th of January in this year, amidst the fierce storm of anger with which the twenty-second Article was assailed, he had spoken in its support with his usual force and fluency and with far more earnestness than might have been expected from a man of his lax principles and unscrupulous character. But his nerves appear to have

[2] History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 482.

CHAP. VIII. 1707.

been over-wrought by his anxiety and his exertions, and they failed him just as his object was attained. He returned home suffering from illness when the second paragraph of the Article had been successfully carried, and in the course of the next day he expired. Thus he had the honor which a better man might envy to die in the service of his country—striving to the last by voice and vote to carry through a measure essential at that period as he knew to its peace and welfare. It requires some such thought to reconcile us however slightly to a memory on which such a load of infamy rests—a memory stained so deeply with the blood of the Macdonalds of Glencoe.[3]

The Articles having passed one by one, there was next introduced the measure which should give validity to all; the Act of Ratification as it was usually called. Upon this Act and on the 16th of January was taken the final division against the Treaty of Union—110 votes to 69. Then the Lord High Commissioner having touched the Act with the Royal Sceptre it became the law.

But although the Scottish Estates had thus passed the Treaty of Union they continued to sit as a Sovereign Legislature pending the acceptance of that Treaty on the part of England. And they had still some weighty duties to perform. It was by this time understood as the desire of the Government that the existing Parliament of England should remain as the English portion of the united legislature, and the Scottish Estates now resolved that, should the Queen so determine, then the Representative Peers as well as the Commoners for Scotland should be chosen from their existing Parliament. Other questions came up for decision. Should all the Scottish Peers go up to Parliament in their turn

[3] The character of Lord Stair is traced in full detail though with most favourable colours, in the Complete History of Europe for 1707, p. 519. Lockhart of Carnwath says of him that he had "a peculiar talent of dissimulation, so that he was seldom or never to be taken unawares."

by a system of rotation, or should representatives be elected for each Parliament? The latter plan was carried. Then again should the election of these Peers be by ballot or by open voting? After some discussion open voting was preferred, and proxies of the absent were allowed.

In distributing the forty-five Seats reserved for the Scottish Commons the Estates resolved to give thirty to the counties and fifteen to the towns. Edinburgh as the capital was to enjoy the privilege of electing its representative singly; but the other boroughs, sixty-six in all, were joined together in groups to the number of fourteen. Each borough was to elect a Commissioner; and the Commissioners of each group were to meet as a Committee and elect the member of Parliament. Papists were expressly shut out both from the representation and the franchise.

There was also great jealousy of the Scottish Peers. It was proposed to enact that they should not be capable of being elected to the House of Commons for any shire or borough in Scotland; and so far the exclusion seems only natural and reasonable; but it was also desired in accordance with what was then the law of Scotland to apply the same exclusion to their eldest sons. To limit in this manner the absolute choice of the electors where no privilege of actual peerage intervenes seems not easily defensible; nevertheless at the time the principle was not nearly so much debated as the form. When the exclusion was moved in plain terms and in so many words it was keenly resisted and could not be carried, but a large majority affirmed it in an indirect shape, agreeing to limit the representative right to "such as are now capable by the laws of this kingdom to elect or be elected." It is worthy of note that this legal incapacity of Peers' eldest sons to sit for any Scottish shire or borough continued down to the Reform Act of 1832.

CHAP. VIII.

1707.

It was also the business of the Estates before they separated to apportion the Equivalent which was left at their disposal. More than half of the whole, namely the sum of 232,000*l.*, went to the stockholders of the Darien Company for capital and interest. Another portion was employed in paying off certain outstanding claims; another, to the just dissatisfaction of the public, in remunerating the Commissioners—not only those who had concluded the late Treaty but those who had attempted it in vain four years ago. Finally the Estates passed an Act for the encouragement of the growth of wool—an Act which considering the total revolution in the ideas of trade may seem to us at present not only inexpedient but grotesque. It provided that woollen shrouds should be always used, and none of any other fabric be allowed in burials.

In London the Queen went to the House of Lords on the 28th of January; and in a Royal Speech announced the passing of the Treaty of Union by the Parliament of Scotland. She expressed her hope that the House of Commons would be willing to provide for the Equivalent which had been stipulated, and to the Legislature at large she commended the opportunity "of putting the last hand to a happy Union of the two kingdoms." The formal documents were on the same day presented to both Houses.

Politicians—or at least the more far-sighted among them—observed with some anxiety that as yet the measure was by no means clear of the rocks and shoals. The amendments in the Articles carried by the Scottish Parliament had been neither few nor inconsiderable. But were the English Parliament now to follow its example—were controversies in consequence to arise between the Legislatures of both kingdoms—the national prejudices would ere long grow embittered and irreconcileable, and the enemies of the Union would infallibly prevail. Godolphin and his colleagues clearly saw the

danger and wisely determined to save the principle by sacrificing some of the details. As Secretary Johnstone could report to his friends in Scotland, "the Whigs are resolved to pass the Union here without making any alteration at all, to shun the necessity of a new Session of yours." Members of the House of Commons might indeed complain. "Why," said some of them to Johnstone, "why are we not to make alterations as well as you?"[4]

There was however one addition which the more zealous Churchmen were resolved to make. As the Scots had embodied with the measure an Act for the security of their Presbyterian settlement, so should the English for the security of their Episcopal Church. A Bill for this object, framed on the model of the precedent at Edinburgh, and seeking in like manner to provide for the perpetuity of the Establishment, was brought in by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the Queen and Prince were present at the discussion upon the Second Reading. Then the High Church party even yet not fully satisfied endeavoured to render the Bill more stringent by inserting in it an Act of Charles the Second against Popish Recusants; but the proposal was rejected by a large majority; and the Bill passed in its original form.

On the Union itself the debates in both the Houses might have seemed to us of considerable interest had they been preserved. But in the scanty records of that period scarce more than two or three sentences are commonly assigned to any speech that is mentioned, and in general even the names of the speakers are left out. The reports seem to be given at length only in the few cases when the orator himself sent his oratory to the press; and this was not the practice of the best. Thus the vain and pushing Lord Haversham, held as of

[4] Letter dated January 4, 1707, and published in the Jerviswood Correspondence.

CHAP. VIII. 1707.

little account by his contemporaries, took care to publish his speech against the Union, while we find no trace of the weightier remarks that may have fallen from Somers or Cowper in the one House, from St. John or Harley in the other.

In the Commons there was great dispatch in passing the Articles of Union. The discussion upon them in Committee was commenced upon the 4th of February, and all amendments being strongly discountenanced by the Government the Report in their favor was presented to the House upon the 8th. Members of the Opposition complained of what they called the post-haste speed with which a measure of so much importance was being hurried through, but they were overruled. Still some of them continued to cry out "post-haste! post-haste!"—"Not so," said Sir Thomas Lyttleton; "we do not ride post-haste but a good easy trot, and for my part so long as the weather is fair, the roads good, and the horses in heart, I am of opinion that we ought to jog on, and not take up till it is night."

Of the opponents to this measure in the Commons, Sir John Packington was perhaps the most bitter. He did not indeed bring forward any arguments, for of these he had seldom much store; but he dealt largely, as was his wont, in random accusations. The Union, he said, had been carried through the Scottish Parliament by the bribery and corruption of its members, and he left it to the House to consider, whether men guilty of such conduct were fit to sit amongst them. These expressions as might be expected provoked great resentment and some sharp replies. It is strange, I may observe in passing, that Sir John Packington should ever have been supposed by later writers the original of Sir Roger de Coverley. Both were staunch High Tories and both lived in Worcestershire, but there the resemblance ends. Sir John was throughout his life a most rancorous partisan, delighting in coarse invectives and

spiteful attacks, and bearing no trace of the gentle and kind-hearted Knight whom Addison has so well portrayed.

When in due course the Articles came before the Lords it was moved and carried that Bishop Burnet should take the Chair in the Committee—a well-merited compliment to an early and earnest promoter of the Union. There was another Prelate who seems to have done it good service during the debate, as we may judge from an able speech made public by himself. This was Doctor William Talbot then Bishop of Oxford, subsequently by translation of Salisbury; and at last of Durham. He was father of Lord Chancellor Talbot and ancestor of the Earl Talbot who in our own times on the failure of his elder line inherited the honours of Shrewsbury.

The Bishop in his speech especially applied himself to allay the unfavourable impression produced by the Act of the Scottish Parliament which declared—and asked our assent in declaring—the Presbyterian form to be the true Protestant religion. "I would suppose" he said "that we were treating with the French King; those that should act for him would be sure to give him the stile of the Most Christian King; but would it follow that if we ratified the treaty agreed on, in some part whereof he was to be so stiled, that we assented to this proposition that Louis the Fourteenth is Most Christian?" Perhaps the Bishop might have found a like illustration even nearer home. How long did the Sovereigns of England continue to bear in their Acts and Treaties the title of King of France after they had lost every shred and particle of its dominion, and Foreign Powers had ceased to attach the least importance to that empty name.

In the debates which now ensued the lead against the Union was taken by the usual High Tory chiefs, Nottingham, Rochester, and Buckingham. There were

CHAP. VIII. 1707.

other speakers besides. Thus Lord North and Grey took great exception to the inadequate amount of Land Tax which the Scots were to pay, considering the number of representatives which was assigned them. He was answered by Lord Halifax, whose speech seems worthy of note when we recollect that it needed a century and a quarter before the idea of Parliamentary Reform which it implied could ripen into legislation. 'In fixing taxation" said Halifax "the number of representatives is no rule to go by. Why even now in England there is the county of Cornwall that pays not near so much towards the Land Tax as the county of Gloucester, and yet sends up to Parliament almost five times as many members."

The arguments urged against the measure had at least in some cases the merit of novelty. Thus Nottingham objected to the name of Great Britain, which he said was such an innovation in the monarchy as must totally subvert all the laws of England; and he moved that the opinion of the Judges should be taken on this point. Strange to say other Peers also whose names are not recorded expressed their concurrence in this view. They prevailed so far that it was agreed to consult the Judges. Being asked their opinion one by one the Judges unanimously declared that the Act of Union would not in any respect alter or impair the Constitution of the realm, nor put an end to any laws except such as it expressly repealed.

The Articles having passed, there now remained only as in Scotland the Act of Ratification. It was expected by the Opposition that they should be able to renew the contest Article by Article; and the Ministers foresaw with dismay not only the chance of interminable delays, but the risk that the Houses might be tempted on second thoughts to disallow on some points the alterations made in Scotland, and to bring back the Treaty nearer its original form. An expedient to secure both

despatch and uniformity was devised by the ready wit of Sir Simon Harcourt, one of the moderate Tories who with Harley and St. John still adhered to the Ministry, and who in the gradations of office had recently become from Solicitor, Attorney General. By his advice there was placed in the preamble a recital of the Articles as they were passed in Scotland together with the Acts made in both Parliaments for the security of their several Churches; and in conclusion there came one enacting clause ratifying all. "This" adds Bishop Burnet "put into great difficulties those who had resolved to object to several Articles; for they could not object to the recital, it being merely matter of fact; and they had not strength enough to oppose the general enacting Clause." In this form the Bill passed rapidly through its stages in the Commons before its opponents had well recovered their surprise. They reserved themselves for a final effort on the Third Reading in the House of Lords, when Lord North and Grey moved as a Rider: "Provided always that nothing in this ratification contained shall be construed to extend to an approbation or acknowledgment of the truth of the Presbyterian way of worship, or allowing the religion of the Church of Scotland to be what it is stiled the true Protestant religion." But this Rider was rejected by 55 Peers against 19; and thus had the great measure passed the Parliament of both the kingdoms, and needed only the Queen's assent to make it law.

The Queen determined—or rather the Queen's advisers determined for her—to give that Assent with all the solemnity becoming the occasion. On the 6th of March Her Majesty seated on her throne in the House of Peers and having in due form summoned the Commons to the Bar addressed her Parliament in some well-weighed and high-spirited words: "My Lords and Gentlemen" she said "I consider this Union as a mat-

CHAP. VIII. 1707.

ter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island; and at the same time a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its own nature that till now all attempts which have been made towards it in the course of above a hundred years have proved ineffectual; and therefore I make no doubt but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter to the honor of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion.—I desire and expect from all my subjects of both nations, that from henceforth they act with all possible respect and kindness to one another, that so it may appear to all the world they have hearts disposed to become one people. This will be a great pleasure to me."

In this manner and over a thousand obstacles was this great and healing measure carried through. Looking back to it at this distance of time and as part of that posterity to which Queen Anne appealed, we should not find perhaps a single man in either country to deny the blessings it has brought on both. It has given to the Scottish people that equal share so long desired in our colonies and trade. It has opened to them new avenues of wealth, and by that wider scope has quickened and stirred their industry. It has raised a petty huckster town upon the Clyde into a mart of manufacture, numbering its inhabitants no more by hundreds but by hundreds of thousands, sending forth its cargoes into the furthest regions, and inferior at this time in importance to no other mart in the world. Along the Firth of Forth it has changed the crops of oats with which the Scots were formerly taunted into a wheat-culture so perfect in its farming skill as greatly to surpass the harvest of some more genial climes. In the Highlands it has driven sterility and famine and their fit companion ignorance step by step before it. It has clothed with growing forests the slopes of the bare hills; it has reclaimed to luxuriant pasture the bleak

moor-lands. Nor has this mighty progress been attended with any decline of that national spirit for which Scotland is renowned. There are still and in the same numbers Scotsmen who, like their own Sir Walter, guard every ruin, cherish every memory, hold sacred every record, of their by-gone ages; Scotsmen with as much pride in their country as their fathers, and with still more reason to be proud.

The benefits of the Union to England though perhaps less apparent were not less real. It freed us from a rival Legislature always in jealousy of ours; and far less eager to promote the common good than to prove its independence. It enabled Chatham when he desired to recruit our armies in his gigantic struggles against France, when he sought as he said for valour, to find it in the mountains of the north, and to call to our service the descendants of the Celtic race. It has brought us to regard the Highlanders not as aliens as King William's Government thought them, or as one at least among their tribes is described in that letter which King William signed "a sect of thieves to extirpate," but on the contrary as most gallant fellow countrymen, whose loyalty to the Reigning Family is no longer doubtful but devoted, and to whose hardihood and daring through many a toilsome campaign, through many a hardfought battle, we have been and we are much beholden. Thus also in the arts of peace there is no department in which the sagacity and enterprise of Scotsmen have not most signally availed us. In the council chamber or the counting house, in the discoveries of science, or in the master-pieces of imagination, the Scots have most ably aided in our common objects and enhanced our joint renown. All honor then to the statesmen by whom this great work was planned and accomplished. All honor to that good Queen who had not indeed the genius to take part in any schemes of statesmanship, but who honestly loved her

CHAP. VIII. 1707.

people, and who gave to this Act her cordial good wishes and her constant favor.

There remains on the other hand to be noticed the painful accusation that the Union was carried through by bribery—direct payments in money for their votes to divers members, Peers and Commoners, of the Scottish Parliament. This charge does not rest merely on vague words of vituperation like Sir John Packington's, uttered in the heat of debate. Lockhart of Carnwath in his Memoirs made public a list of thirty-two names with a certain sum of money assigned to each, the entire sum amounting to upwards of 20,000*l*. This actual sum was advanced in an irregular manner and without the customary forms from the Treasury of England, as was proved before the Commission of Public Accounts in 1712, of which Commission Lockhart was himself a member, and he infers that the money was designed and applied for the purchase of votes. On his authority the accusation passed current in that age with the Jacobite writers, and in later years with those who felt more or less sympathy with them. But admitting his list to be entirely authentic, the inference which he drew from it is shown by subsequent research to be entirely erroneous.[5]

In the first place then it appears that of the entire sum more than one moiety, namely 12,325*l*., was advanced to the Lord High Commissioner "for equipage and daily allowance;" and there was evidence before the Commission of 1712 that, after the Union, this money was repaid, although the point is not perfectly clear. We have therefore to account only for the remaining balance of 7,675*l*.—certainly no vast treasure with which to bribe an entire Parliament! It is admitted by Lockhart that the entire sum was asked for and conceded as a loan to pay arrears of salary. Have we then

[5] See especially the full details and the able arguments of Mr. Burton in his History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 484–494.

any grounds for doubting that such was the real fact? Arrears of salary in those days were constantly recurring and not obtained without much solicitation, as is shown especially by the diplomatic correspondence in this and the preceding reign. It was natural also that at the Union, upon the winding up of the separate accounts for Scotland, it should be thought proper to adjust all such outstanding claims.

This general view appears to be fully confirmed by an examination of particular instances, so far as that examination after a lapse of time is practicable. Next to the Lord Commissioner's the highest payment in the list is of 1,104*l.* to the Earl of Marchmont. Now it so happens that there is extant a private letter of that time from Marchmont to Argyle, bitterly complaining that the arrears of his salary when Chancellor of Scotland remain unpaid. The editor of his papers has supplied some further calculations, and made clear that the payment to him which Lockhart cites was no gratuity but simply the discharge of a legal obligation.[6]

In like manner there appears among the last "Acts of the Scots Parliament" a petition from Major Cunninghame of Ecket, praying that he may be repaid the sum of 275*l.* expended out of his own means in the subsistence of officers under his command. Cunninghame is on the list of Lockhart as having received 100*l.*—clearly either a final composition of his claim or a first payment on account of it.

As against the charge of bribery however there still remains to be stated the strongest argument of all. Some of those who figure upon Lockhart's list as in receipt of public money did not vote for the Union but on the contrary against it. Such was the case with Major Cunninghame of Ecket whom I have just named,

[6] Compare in the Marchmont Papers the letter at vol. iii. p. 294, with the "Defence" by Sir George Rose, at vol. i. p. cxi. See also a note in Somerville's Queen Anne, p. 222.

CHAP. VIII. and also with the Duke of Athol to whom was paid 1,000*l.*

1707. It is true however that of the remaining items there are some of small amount that do not seem to be connected with arrears. These however were in no sense presents for votes; they were only in the modern phrase payments for the conveyance of voters. Thus we find Mr. William Hunter, the Minister of Banff, write as follows to Carstairs: "My Lord Banff upon declaring himself Protestant has a mind to go south and take his place in Parliament; and withal because his circumstances require it his Lordship requires your kind influence for his encouragement that he may undertake his journey. My Lord's circumstances are but low."[7] When therefore in the subsequent list we find Lord Banff's name credited for 11*l.* 2*s.* we may safely conclude that this was the sum allowed his Lordship for his travelling expenses.

We are therefore, I conceive, entitled to cast aside as an utter calumny the allegation of bribery against the members of the Scottish Parliament. Exactly the same allegation, and on just as flimsy grounds, was on occasion of the Irish Union a century afterwards brought against the members of the Irish Parliament.

There is yet another charge. It is said that even admitting the members of the Scottish Parliament to have acted from pure and honourable motives they acted against the wishes and the feelings of the Scottish people. But of this there is no proof at all. There is no reason to doubt that in this as in most other cases it was the majority of the people that prevailed over the minority. So far only may be granted that in Scotland the minority against the Union was warm and eager, while the majority accepted it with some degree of hesitation, and on a balance of advantages, as a

[7] Carstairs Papers, p. 736.

sacrifice of certain objects for the attainment of other and greater.

It seems also to be true that the aversion to the Treaty of Union, which was not at the outset considerable, much increased while the measure was passing, and increased further still after it had passed. By degrees and only by degrees that aversion again receded. Many years elapsed ere it was finally consigned to the book-shelves of the antiquaries and ceased to have the least effect in common life. It was supported so long not by any experience of the predicted evils but mainly perhaps from an overweening confidence of national superiority. This point in the character of Scotsmen during the last century has been touched with great humour by one of themselves—Dr. Moore, the able and accomplished author of Zeluco. That work, first published in 1789, brings before us the conversation of two servingmen in Italy, both of Scottish birth; but the former long absent as a follower of the Stuarts; and the latter just arrived. The one long absent will by no means allow that any good has been gained by the Union. "On the contrary" he says "the Union has done a great deal of harm to the Lowlands of Scotland."—"How so?"—"By spreading luxury and effeminacy of manners. Why I was assured by Serjeant Lewis Mac Neil, a Highland gentleman in the Prussian service, that the Lowlanders in some parts of Scotland are now very little better than so many English!"—"Oh fie!" cries the other Scotsman in alarm, "things are not come to that pass as yet; your friend the Serjeant assuredly exaggerates."[8]

The 1st of May had been fixed as the date on which the Act of Union should commence, and a Proclamation

[8] *Zeluco*, vol. ii. p. 156. Some readers may recollect the observation of Æneas Sylvius, when visiting Scotland three centuries and a half before: "nihil Scotos audire libentius quam vituperationes Anglorum." See the *Concilia Scotiæ* as edited with admirable skill by the late Mr. Joseph Robertson (Preface, vol. i. p. xcii.).

CHAP. VIII. 1707.

from the Queen had directed that day to be observed as one of Public Thanksgiving for the happy conclusion of the Treaty. During the interval the two kingdoms were still distinct; and both the Legislatures might continue to sit if required by the public service. Meanwhile Addresses of Congratulation to the Queen came in from various parts of England. But it was noticed that the University of Oxford taking great offence at the formal recognition of the Presbyterian Church remained resolutely silent. Nor yet was there any Address from any place in the northern kingdom.

The Scottish Estates had by this time brought their labours to a close. On the 25th of March they were addressed by the High Commissioner in a short concluding speech, and they were then adjourned never to meet again. His Grace soon afterwards set out for England that he might place their Act in Her Majesty's hands. On his entry into London he was received with great state and magnificence by a solemn procession of the High Officers of the realm in coaches and on horseback; and in this manner he was escorted to St. James's.

But even yet the difficulties of the Union were not entirely surmounted. In the concluding weeks of the English Parliament which was still in Session there arose in connection with the pending measure a serious entanglement between the two Houses. The question came from some frauds apprehended in Scotland where advantage was sought to be taken of the remaining interval before the 1st of May. Then the duties on import would be common to both countries, but meanwhile it would be possible to land prohibited goods in Scotland, ready to be transshipped to England as soon as the Union took effect. A Bill was presented to the House of Commons to prevent the expected abuse; and on the third reading Harley proposed and carried a Clause rendering the measure more complete by a

retroactive effect. When however the Bill with this addition reached the House of Lords they were apprised that the Scots in general would regard it as an infringement of the Articles of Union, and thus forewarned the Peers were firm against it.

Under these circumstances the Queen by the advice of her Ministers prorogued the Parliament for a week—from the 8th to the 14th of April—so as to afford to both parties leisure for reconsideration. The Whigs were full of wrath against Harley. Already in the preceding autumn they had striven to obtain his dismissal conjointly with Sunderland's appointment, but they could not prevail with Marlborough and Godolphin who might still be ranked as Tories. Now all their accusations were renewed. "I believe"—so writes Sunderland to Marlborough who had already reached the Hague, "you will be surprised at this short Prorogation. It is entirely occasioned by him who is the author of all the tricks played here."[9]

The Prorogation had not however the healing effect that was designed. The Commons were stirred by an earnest petition from the fair traders praying to be secured from the Scottish contrabands, and thus incited they passed for the second time their Bill, which the Lords as before were unwilling to let through. It only remained therefore for the Queen to end the dispute by closing the Session, as was done with a short speech from Her Majesty on the 24th of the same month.

It was provided in the Act of Union that "there be one Great Seal for the United Kingdom, which shall be different from the Great Seal now used for either kingdom." As the 1st of May drew near a new Great Seal was accordingly prepared, and Lord Cowper to whom it was committed was promoted to the post of Chancellor—the first Lord Chancellor of Great Britain. In like manner Prince George and Lord Godolphin received

[9] Coxe's Marlborough, vol. iii. p. 122 and 149.

CHAP. VIII. 1707.

new patents, and took the oaths respectively as Lord High Admiral and Lord Treasurer of Great Britain, and no longer of England only.

In the Scottish Peerage both the Marquess of Montrose and the Earl of Roxburgh were raised to the rank of Dukes. Their patents bearing date the 24th and 25th of April were the last effort of an expiring Prerogative, since the right of the Crown to make either creations or promotions of Scots Peers was held to cease on the day of Union. It is strange that this cessation was not stated by any express clause to that effect, and was only taken as implied by the words of the twenty-second article, that "of the Peers of Scotland at the time of the Union sixteen shall be the number to sit and vote in the House of Lords."

CHAPTER IX.

CHAP. IX. 1707.

Of the military operations which marked the year 1707 those in Spain should be first related as much the earliest in date and as having considerable influence upon the rest.

In the last days of 1706 Peterborough had landed again at Barcelona bringing with him a large sum of money which he had raised in Italy. He travelled along the coast by easy journeys to Valencia, where Charles was then residing. All his letters show him in high spirits and volatile as ever. Thus he wrote to Stanhope early on the 10th of January, the day he intended to arrive: "I shall not be able to come to Valencia till the evening, and so must put off the dinner to the more agreeable meal a supper, when Colonel Breton and myself intend to mortify you with the account of our happy days in Italy. Of the nights we will say nothing."

Arriving at Valencia Peterborough could not fail to be warmly greeted by the Marquis of La Casta, the Count of Villa Franquesa, and those other gentlemen to whom he had so generously sent supplies for their equipage in the last campaign. With the King there was a total change. The Earl discreetly assigned 13,000 pistoles of the money brought from Genoa to His Majesty's own special use; and His Majesty at once laid aside his former bitterness against the English chief; showing him henceforth every token of the highest regard. "My Lord," so Stanhope reports to Sir Charles Hedges, "has expressed himself dissatisfied

CHAP. IX. 1707.

with me for having writ formerly to the Secretary that there was a misunderstanding betwixt the King and his Lordship. I have always thought it my duty to represent matters here as I apprehended them to be. Whether I was then mistaken or not in the account I gave will probably have been seen by the letters the King and his Lordship writ to England. As I thought it my duty to give an account when it seemed to me there was a difference between them, so I think myself obliged to do the same when there is a seeming good understanding, without entering into the motives that occasioned either their difference or their reconciliation."

Peterborough had returned to Spain much in the character as he conceived of a volunteer, not having the seniority to command nor yet the temper to be commanded. He took part however in several Councils of War to determine the operations for the next campaign; one especially five days after his arrival and another on the 4th of February. At Charles's desire all the officers present gave their opinions in writing. That of Peterborough was entirely for the defensive at this time. He urged the importance of maintaining the provinces of the Crown of Aragon and the risks that would attend a new invasion of Castille. Stanhope on the other hand observed that they might soon expect considerable reinforcements. When last year the Ministers in England finally relinquished their scheme of a descent upon the coast of France they determined that the body of troops appointed for that service should be transferred to Spain. Earl Rivers, the General in command of those troops, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, the Admiral of the Fleet which conveyed them, had written to announce their arrival at Lisbon and might in another fortnight anchor in Alicant Bay. Such forces, said Stanhope, have not been sent over by the Queen to pine away as garrisons. When joined to those already in Valencia—English and Dutch, Portuguese and Cata-

lans—they would be more than a match for Berwick. Why then not march forward and give battle?

Notwithstanding the weight which Peterborough might justly claim from his former and great successes, it was Stanhope's plan which found most favour with the other chiefs assembled, especially Galway and Das Minas. An offensive system for the next campaign was therefore resolved upon. Peterborough still remonstrated. But his career in Spain, or indeed in any military sphere, was now drawing to a close. His eccentric course, so wholly self-relying, so independent of orders from home, had given great offence, and brought him several reprimands from the Ministers in England, more especially on the ground of confused accounts and of constant bickerings with the King of Spain.

Then the Earl was apprised how at the beginning of December the Seals had been taken from Sir Charles Hedges and granted to Lord Sunderland. He immediately wrote to the new Secretary a long letter to vindicate his conduct on all points, and urging also numerous complaints of his own. "But my Lord," he said, "I will esteem nothing hardship from the Queen, but count all that has passed happy opportunities of showing my greatest zeal for her service. I think there is a little gallantry in the case, and that I receive mortifications as lovers do which only increase the passion. . . My Lord, I most heartily congratulate your coming into public business in the office you are in. It is my misfortune it was not sooner, for I am sure not only of your justice but favour, and very confident you will approve of these endeavours of mine." [1]

This confidence as it proved was entirely erroneous. The new Secretary of State carried with him into office,

[1] To the Earl of Sunderland, Valencia, Feb. 27, 1707. This letter, which I derive from Coxe's transcripts, takes up no less than sixteen closely written folio pages. On the same day the same indefatigable penman wrote a second supplementary letter to Sunderland and another also of great length to Marlborough.

CHAP. IX. 1707.

what indeed had brought him there the strongest party attachments. Like the other Whig chiefs of that day he warmly supported Galway, whom they looked upon as one of themselves, while with his rival they had little or no connection. Urging Peterborough's real failings, and not duly mindful of his as real services, Sunderland had been little more than a month in possession of the Seals ere he prevailed upon the Queen to sanction his recall. Not only this, but in writing the despatch to the English chief, Sunderland announced the recall in the sharpest and bitterest terms. "Her Majesty having been informed by letters from Genoa that your Lordship has taken up great sums of money there at a most extravagant price, has commanded me to acquaint you that she has ordered the Bills for the said money not to be accepted, the same having been drawn without any authority or permission from Her Majesty, and at such a price which if answered must affect all the remittances that shall be necessary to be made for the public service the whole year. . . I am commanded at the same time to take notice to your Lordship of the extraordinary manner in which you left Spain, where you had so great a trust committed to you by Her Majesty's Commissions, to go to negotiate matters with other Princes without any orders from the Queen for so doing or any credentials to those Princes. Upon all these accounts I am commanded by Her Majesty to let your Lordship know that it is her pleasure that you return forthwith to England to acquaint Her Majesty with the reasons and grounds of your proceedings."

This despatch bears the date of January 14 Old Style, and did not come to Peterborough's hands till March New Style. It affected his interests in more than one respect. The Bills from Genoa having been protested by the Government Peterborough had to defray from his private fortune the difference between the prices of accommodation and the prices current, which upon

the entire sum amounted to several thousand pounds. But the Earl ever generous, nay even lavish of his money, felt far more keenly the imputation on his public character. "Sir," he wrote to Stanhope, "you would little expect, I believe, that all objections are now reduced to my having taken up without order and with such loss such considerable sums at Genoa. Surely if ever extraordinary measures were to be taken it was when an army was in such extraordinary necessity; and four or five thousand pounds more or less ought not to be brought in balance with the loss or safety of an army. Any other answer but this I think superfluous. But, Sir, had not the necessity of the English army required it, I could as you know have disposed the whole sum without loss to England. The Portuguese were wise enough to desire the money at the price; and no other nation but would have thanked me for my zeal. I am confident you will inform the Court of the necessity and of the service, which however I only desire they will forgive." [2]

Even before he received the letter of recall, Peterborough had determined to quit Spain, where he held no command, and go back to the Duke of Savoy. He embarked from Valencia, and after touching at Barcelona steered for the coast of Italy. With him were three English men-of-war; one of them, the Resolution, commanded by his second son, a gallant sea-officer, Captain Henry Mordaunt. In their way they fell in with a French squadron of greatly superior force, and the Resolution was especially hard-pressed. Mordaunt however maintained the conflict for several hours with great bravery; until at last finding his ship much shattered he ran her on shore. The Earl, who had gone on board the Enterprise frigate, received a contusion in a subsequent attack, but found the enemy desist, and on the 1st of April got safe into Leghorn.

[2] Letter dated Barcelona, March 25, 1707 (MS.).

CHAP. IX. 1707.

Peterborough showed himself far less incensed than might have been expected at the terms of his dismissal. He did not break off his correspondence with the Ministry in England. On the contrary he wrote several letters both to Sunderland and Marlborough, assuring them that he should be able when they met to explain every point in his conduct to their entire satisfaction. Meanwhile he seemed in no hurry to go home. His restless spirit impelled him to divers negotiations and cabals with the Courts both of Turin and Vienna, which having no direct authority from his own could attain no practical result.

On the 7th of February the English fleet, with the troops under Lord Rivers's orders, had arrived at Alicant. According to Stanhope's plan the military operations should have been at once begun. But instead of these there arose a controversy between Lords Rivers and Galway as to the chief command; a controversy which continued for three weeks, and which was terminated only by the moderation and good temper of Lord Rivers, who leaving the troops behind him re-embarked for England. Then at least the campaign should have commenced. Then however a still more serious difficulty was interposed by Charles. He was jealous that he could not at his pleasure direct the movements of the troops; and he gave his principal confidence at this time to Count Noyelles, who was jealous also on his own account. Under the influence of this intriguing officer Charles suddenly declared himself resolved to quit the army and go back to Barcelona, on the plea that an attack was threatened from the side of Roussillon. All remonstrances against this scheme from the other chiefs at Valencia proved of no avail; and Charles set out upon his journey on the 7th of March. His absence as an adviser from the scene of operations might perhaps have been borne with equanimity; but it was no light matter that he took

with him or there detained Dutch and Catalan troops to the number of several thousand men. Stanhope as English Envoy to his Court was also bound to attend him; and thus to his own great chagrin found himself debarred from taking part as he had expected in the army's advance upon Castille.

The evils of disputed or divided command had for a long time past been urged by Stanhope on the Ministers in England; and he had advised that Prince Eugene might if possible be sent to Spain as almost the only man to whose authority all the nations and all the chiefs concerned would willingly bow. But the Court of Vienna could by no means spare Eugene from its own more immediate objects; and thus the main army of the Allies in Spain in this year as in the last was after many jars left to the joint and incapable direction of the Earl of Galway and the Marquis Das Minas.

The time which the Allies had lost was not lost by King Louis. He saw the importance of pressing the war in Spain, and with that view resolved to make a sacrifice elsewhere. By his orders there was signed at Milan a Convention with Prince Eugene, according to which the French garrisons were to relinquish the fortresses which they still retained in Northern Italy and to march back without molestation to their frontiers.[3] In this manner some eighteen or twenty thousand good French troops became disposable for active service, and part of them were at once sent across the Pyrenees. Louis had also resolved to signalise his Spanish army by placing at its head a Prince of the Blood. Thus while he left the Duke of Berwick as second in command he named as chief his nephew the Duke of Orleans, who was burning to retrieve his disaster at Turin.

Early in April after long delays Galway and Das Minas began their forward movement. Having first

[3] See this Convention (which, says Sismondi, *avait la forme d'une capitulation*) in Lamberty, vol. iv. p. 391.

CHAP. IX. 1707.

destroyed some of the enemy's outlying magazines they invested the castle of Villena, but speedily changing their purpose raised the siege and pressed onward to give battle. They came in sight of Berwick's army on the morning of the 25th and found that he had taken post on an open plain with the small town of Almanza behind him. By that time Berwick had already received great part of his expected reinforcements, although the Duke of Orleans, who had made a circuit through Madrid to pay his respects to the King and Queen, had not yet arrived.

Destitute of exact intelligence as much as of military skill the Allied Generals were not apprised of Berwick's accession of troops and consequent superiority of numbers. That superiority was above all in horse which in a bare and open country could act with especial advantage. On the whole the Bourbon army was of five-and-twenty thousand men while that of the Allies much thinned by recent sickness fell short of eighteen. It could not fail to be noticed that both the pretenders to the Crown, the one but twenty-four, the other but twenty-two years of age, had quitted their armies only a few weeks or months before and were moping in their palaces instead of leading the battle in which their fate would be decided. "What fools we are to fight for such louts!"—this as rumour says was once the exclamation of Peterborough.[4]

The Allied chiefs discerning when too late their great inferiority in cavalry endeavoured to atone for it in their order of battle, alternating squadrons of horse with battalions of infantry upon their wings. Galway who had taken his post at the left wing began the onset that same day the 25th of April, towards three in the afternoon. He fought as always with great bravery but was ere long disabled by a sabre-cut above the eyes, while his troops were thrown into confusion by a charge of the

[4] Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV., vol. i. p. 342, ed. 1752. See also Sismondi, vol. xxvii. p. 25.

enemy's cavalry. A similar fate befel the right wing of the Allies under its Portuguese chief the Count of Atalaya. Das Minas himself commanded in the centre and for a time seemed to prevail; he broke the first line of the French and Spaniards; he caused the second to waver; he enabled two English battalions to pierce through. Already had they reached the very walls of Almanza when, as Berwick relates it, the fortune of the day in that quarter was turned by a Spanish chief Don Joseph Amezaga; the same who three years later was slain by Stanhope in single combat. Amezaga drawing together two squadrons of the Spanish regiment called Ordenes Viejos came to the rescue of his countrymen and with their aid overthrew the two English battalions.[5] Das Minas was soon afterwards severely wounded and compelled to quit the van; and the rout of the Allies in all their three divisions was entire. Only their cavalry, about 3,500 in number, could escape; the infantry found themselves hemmed in on a bare plain with no hedge or ditch to shelter them, and were for the most part either made prisoners or cut down. Two of the chiefs, Count Dohna and Major-General Shrimpton, with about thirteen battalions made their way in a body to the neighbouring hills; but next day failing in provisions and surrounded by the enemy's horse they were compelled to surrender. On the whole this fatal battle of Almanza cost the Allies the whole of their baggage and artillery, twenty-four pieces in number, with one hundred and twenty banners; with at least 4,000 slain and 8,000 prisoners. The loss of the Bourbon army in killed and wounded was estimated at 2,000.

On the day after the battle the Duke of Orleans arrived in Berwick's camp, scarce able to conceal his deep mortification that his ill-timed politeness at Madrid had lost him the glory of command in so great a victory. However he at once applied himself with Berwick to

[5] Memoires de Berwick, vol. i. p. 253.

CHAP. IX. 1707.

improve the auspicious occasion, and seeing no foes left before them they led their army by Buñol full on the city of Valencia.

It is the quality of great chiefs to maintain an ever-buoyant hopeful spirit and to plan some new encounter on the very morrow of defeat. Galway did not belong to that class. Brave as he had been in the battle he was so wholly cast down in mind by its result as to despair not only of the campaign but even of the war. Here are his own words to Marlborough written only two days afterwards: "I cannot, my Lord, but look upon the affairs of Spain as lost by this bad disaster; our foot which was our main strength being gone; and the horse we have left chiefly Portuguese which is not good at all. . . All the Generals here are of opinion that we cannot continue in this kingdom; so I have desired Sir George Byng to take on board again the recruits he had just landed at Alicant; and to call at Denia or Valencia for our sick, wounded, and baggage; and have sent all to Tortosa, where we shall march with the remnant of our horse."[6] It soon appeared however that the case of the Allies in Spain was by no means so desperate as Galway at first conceived it, and that although much must be relinquished something might be still retained.

The battle of Almanza as the first gleam of returning fortune was hailed with great delight not only by the subjects of Louis in his own dominions but by all his partisans in Europe. It might also even among his enemies afford matter of triumph to the detractors of Lord Galway. We find Lord Peterborough discuss it with no generous spirit in a letter to one of his friends in England; a letter of which the rough draft in his own handwriting has been preserved among the papers of his Secretary, Mr. Arent Furly. Here follows one passage: "No Irishman

[6] Galway to Marlborough, letter dated Alegre, April 27, 1707.

could have proved a bolder hero against common sense than our French General who, contrary to the sentiments of the whole nation concerned, the protestations of so many Generals, and the repeated instances of a King, pursues the rashest measures in the world and meets a suitable fate. . . Too dearly have so many brave men paid for these partialities at home." And in a subsequent letter to Stanhope Peterborough adds no less bitterly: "I thank all those that have assisted in sending me to London. Pray present my service to the Marquise de La Casta, and tell her I hope she finds herself better in her new friendships than the King has done in his new Generals."

Marching onwards from their field of victory D'Orleans and Berwick encountered no resistance and found the city of Valencia open its gates at their approach. With equal ease they reduced the remainder of the province except only the two seaports of Denia and Alicant and the inland town of Xativa. Of the last Berwick proceeded to make the siege. It was taken by assault, fifteen days from the first investment, and was treated by Berwick with most merciless severity, razing to the ground as he did the greater part of the houses, and hanging or sending into banishment the greater part of the men.

During that time the Duke of Orleans had separated from his colleague, to invade the kingdom of Aragon. He entered Zaragoza in triumph and reduced all Aragon with ease. In the autumn, again combining with Berwick, they undertook the siege of Lerida. It was a fortress strong alike by nature and by art; and they had beside them Galway and Stanhope who had taken the field with the Allied cavalry now increased to 5,000 men. Still that force was far too small to strike a blow at the besiegers, and the garrison was reduced to capitulate, obtaining however advantageous terms. Then the two Dukes returned to France, and Charles found himself

CHAP. IX. enabled, in spite of his great reverse, to maintain himself as before in the principality of Catalonia.

1707. Even before the battle of Almanza Marlborough had found the leading statesmen at the Hague much inclined to treat with France. Thus he writes: "In two conversations I have had with M. de Buys he has been very plain in telling me that he should think it a very good peace if we could persuade the Duke of Anjou to be contented with Naples and Sicily. I am afraid there are a great many more in Holland of his mind, but as we are very sure I think of making this campaign there may be many alterations before winter."[7]

In the campaign which was thus before him the Duke had no longer to dread the impracticable temper and the wayward humour of Prince Louis of Baden. His Highness had died in his palace of Rastadt in the first days of this year. His pompous monument some thirty feet high, set off by a no less pompous inscription and by abundance of tawdry gilding, may still be seen in the parish church of Baden.[8]

Unhappily however on the death of Prince Louis the choice of his successor as General of the Empire gave little promise of better concert. The Margrave of Bareith, who was named to this important post, was a martinet trained in the same school as the Margrave of Baden, but with far less of knowledge and experience and full as much of pride. Such was the distrust which he inspired that several of the petty states of Germany withdrew or withheld their contingents.

At this moment however there was a still more pressing danger. Charles the Twelfth of Sweden had completed his conquest of Poland, had entered Saxony, and had fixed his head-quarters at Alt Ranstadt near Leipsick. It was called the camp of the three Kings,

[7] Marlborough to Godolphin, April 20, 1707.

[8] Here are some lines of the inscription as I copied them:—

Infidelium debellator, Imperii protector,
Atlas Germaniæ, hostium terror,
Quoad vixit semper vicit, nunquam victus
Nisi a communi fato
Quod nec magno heroi pepercit.

since there appeared in it at one time not only Charles himself but Stanislas, whom he had placed on the throne of Poland, and Augustus whom he had displaced from it, leaving to the latter merely the Electorate of Saxony and the empty Royal title. Already in the heart of Germany and at the head of some 40,000 well-appointed and victorious troops, Charles if he so chose it might take part with decisive effect on the side of France. Nor were the most eager solicitations wanting to engage him. Louis had by a secret envoy represented to him the ancient glories of Gustavus Adolphus and the close friendship which in those days subsisted between France and Sweden. He had urged him to stand forward as the mediator of peace, and promised to accept whatever terms he might impose.

King Charles upon his own part had a long list of grievances against the Emperor; as the closing of Protestant Churches in Silesia; the insult offered to one of his envoys by Count Zobor a nobleman of Hungary; and the killing of two of his officers in a brawl at Breslau. He had therefore some wish, unless his claims were granted, to make the Emperor feel the force of his resentment. But that wish was balanced by the impatience to march once more against his first enemy the Czar, and to wage a war in Muscovy as glorious even though as toilsome as his war in Poland, when, as his Prime Minister boasted to the Prussian General Grumbkow, they would march eighty leagues without unsaddling the horses, and feeding them on the thatch of the houses."[9]

The mind of the young hero being still in this wavering state it was felt by both the Cabinets of London and of Vienna as of the utmost importance to endeavour, by some skilful negotiator, to counteract the overtures of France, and to decide His Majesty's thoughts on the general politics of Europe. All looked to the victor of

[9] Report from Grumbkow to Marlborough, January 11, 1707.

CHAP. IX. 1707.

Blenheim as beyond any comparison the fittest for the office; nor did the Duke, engrossed though he was with other cares, decline that distant journey; but he found the idea of it produce much tremor in the Dutch. Having at last satisfied their leading statesmen with the promise of a prompt return he set out from the Hague on the 20th of April taking Hanover in his route, and there passing some hours to pay his respects to the Elector.

Already had Marlborough by letter consulted His Electoral Highness upon a delicate point in the negotiation which was now before him. He was by no means inclined to rest solely on his own diplomatic skill. He had obtained the sanction of the Queen to grant, if need should be, secret gratuities from the English treasury to some of the Swedes in office. The Elector advised that Marlborough should offer a pension of 2,000*l.* a year to the Prime Minister Count Piper and another of 1,000*l.* a year to Olaf Hermelin Councillor of State; and he added, with a just appreciation of the characters with whom they had to deal, that the first year should be paid them in advance.[1] Marlborough determined to abide by this prudent counsel.

Rapidly pursuing his journey Marlborough reached the camp of Alt Ranstadt; and next morning was received in due form by the King. "Sir," said the Duke, "I present to your Majesty a letter from the Queen my mistress coming from her heart and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented it she would have crossed the sea to see a Prince admired by the whole universe. I am in this particular more happy than the Queen; and I wish I could serve some campaigns under so great a General as your Majesty that I might learn what I yet want to know in the art of war."[2]

[1] The Elector's reply to Marlborough dated April 8, 1707, is printed in Macpherson's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 90.

[2] Coxe's Marlborough, vol. iii. p. 169. While the Great Duke was thus adulatory to the King he took a high tone with the Ministers. Find-

Gross as was this flattery it was not too gross for Charles. He expressed his pleasure at seeing in his camp a chief so renowned and so discerning; and in the conversations which ensued he was gradually won over to the English interests. His resentment against the Court of Vienna was partly soothed by the persuasive powers of Marlborough; and partly satisfied by the concessions which the Duke was empowered to announce. As regards the nice point of the secret pensions Olaf Hermelin at once accepted the offer that was made him. Count Piper on the contrary expressed some scruples, but these being referred to the Countess his wife they were quickly overruled.

Such was the promising train of negotiations which in only a few days' sojourn Marlborough was able to lay. It is true that after his departure some further difficulties and jealousies arose; but these also were composed by Marlborough through the aid of private letters to both parties, so that at last there was concluded a treaty between the Emperor and the King of Sweden deciding in an amicable manner the divers points at issue. Then the King put an end to the fears which his presence had inspired. He raised his camp in Saxony and marched back across the Oder and Vistula to commence in an evil hour for himself his campaigns against the Czar. Marlborough on his part had returned to Holland, making on his way short visits to the Courts both of Berlin and Hanover, but using such despatch that he reached the Hague on the 8th of May, only eighteen days since he had left it.

From the Hague Marlborough repaired to Brussels, and from Brussels to Anderlecht, where he took the

ing in his first visit to Count Piper that due etiquette was not shown him he marked his displeasure in a manner no doubt very striking and effectual, but not quite decorous to relate. See however a note to Smollett's History, book i. ch. ix. sect. 22. The tale is fully told by M. Adlerfeld (who was himself present) in his Histoire Militaire de Charles XII., vol. iii. p. 151, ed. 1740.

CHAP. IX. 1707.

command of his army. It amounted to 97 battalions and 164 squadrons. The enemy as he learnt had 102 of the former and 168 of the latter, and were encamped in the neighbourhood of Mons, under the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Vendome. "They have more battalions than we but ours are largest; and on the whole I believe our army is stronger than theirs;"—so says Marlborough in one of his letters at this time. But he found his friends grievously depressed by two pieces of ill news. One was from Spain of the battle of Almanza; another scarcely less adverse from the lines of Stollhofen.

These lines which the Margrave of Baden had so long defended were now held by the Margrave of Bareith with even less capacity and with diminished numbers. Marshal Villars who commanded the French army in Alsace was not slow to discern and to profit by this favourable opportunity. By way of feint he announced a great ball at Strasburg on the 20th of May; he gave his last orders to his officers in the intervals between the dances; and at five in the morning on quitting the festivity he commenced his march. By way of diversion he had already despatched the Count de Broglie with a body of troops on the left bank to seize the small islands in the Rhine; and the attack which was made on the morning of the 22nd from various sides was attended with success on every point. The Margrave taken by surprise was utterly routed. He fled in disarray while Villars seized the tents and magazines, and demolished the dykes and sluices which strengthened the works.

Not satisfied with this first success Villars continued to press on the fugitive Margrave and overspread the open country of Wurtemberg and Franconia, levying heavy contributions far and wide. One of his parties even skirted the plain of Hochstädt, almost within sight of Blenheim. Through the whole of Southern Germany

there now arose a loud cry against their unfortunate commander; but the slow and ceremonious forms of the Empire were found to place considerable difficulties in the way of his removal. The Margrave moreover stood on his defence, pleading that not he but his army was to blame. CHAP. IX. 1707.

This question like almost every other in the war—such is the penalty of superior genius—came to be referred to Marlborough and cost him a long course of arduous solicitation. He earnestly pressed the Court of Vienna that the Margrave should be set aside with all civility but with no delay, and that in his place should be appointed the Elector of Hanover whom he urged on political even more than on military grounds. Both the Emperor and the Elector hesitated; the one as to the offer, the other as to the acceptance. But Marlborough with his usual skill and patience overcame every obstacle, though not till after some weeks delay. The new chief could not take the field till past the middle of September when it was too late for any operation of importance; and Villars shortly afterwards in pursuance of orders from Versailles led back his army to the left bank of the Rhine.

Another object, unconnected with his own military sphere, which Marlborough had zealously pressed, was the invasion of Provence. He desired to see Toulon besieged by an army under Prince Eugene in concert with the troops of the Duke of Savoy and with the fleet of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. The taking of this fortress, which was understood to be in no good condition for defence, would cripple the best fleet of the French, would lose them their main depository of naval magazines, and might perhaps by that single stroke terminate the war. The Emperor however showed himself but lukewarm and half-hearted to this enterprise. He regarded it as planned especially for the advantage of the two Maritime Powers, and would have preferred to employ

CHAP. IX. 1707.

his own forces on his own more immediate objects. Still however the great ascendency of Marlborough prevailed in the end with the Court of Vienna. Prince Eugene was directed to lead an Austrian army to besiege Toulon, while the aid of the Duke of Savoy was purchased by the grant of considerable subsidies.

But on one point Joseph was found inflexible. Notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances addressed to him, urging that all the forces disposable in Lombardy should be concentrated for the single and paramount object of Toulon, he was determined to send a detachment of his army to the conquest of Naples. Early in the summer therefore one of his Generals, Count Daun, began his march towards the Abruzzi mountains at the head of less than 9,000 men. Small as was this body of troops it proved more than sufficient for its purpose. No resistance, or next to none, was encountered by Daun. The city of Naples opened its gates to him on the 8th of July with every token of joy; the people issuing forth to greet him with boughs of olive in their hands, and on their hats; also breaking into fragments and casting into the sea a bronze statue of Philip the Fifth.[3] The Duke of Escalona (Marquis of Villena in Spain) who was Philip's Viceroy retired to the stronghold of Gaeta, the usual resource of fugitives from Naples; this however was ere long besieged and taken by assault; and the whole of the kingdom submitted quietly to its new dominion. At nearly the same period and with as little of resistance did the island of Majorca and the district of Orbitello in Tuscany renounce their allegiance to King Philip and proclaim King Charles.

Louis the Fourteenth was deeply impressed with the vital importance of Toulon; and no sooner thought it threatened than he sent thither the Maréchal de Tessé, directing also to that quarter the best troops that he could spare. As regards the defences of the place Tessé made

[3] Complete History of Europe, 1707, p. 271. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, vol. xii. p. 51.

at first most discouraging reports. "Toulon" he wrote to the King "is not a fortress but rather a garden. . . What should be the Glacis is overspread with large country-houses, with orchards, and with convents. All these are being demolished, but it is a work of time. We have however 4,000 peasantry and the sailors from your Majesty's fleet who are labouring night and day."[4]

This energy of preparation on the part of France was much assisted by the wavering and lingering course of the Allies. It was not till the 26th of July that Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy came in sight of Toulon. By that time the town had been put into a state of defence and connected by regular lines with an entrenched camp which Tessé had formed upon the neighbouring hills. The Allied army, wasted by sickness and thinned by desertion, could scarcely number more than 25,000 effective men; and the loss of the 9,000 detached to Naples was now severely felt. Moreover much jealousy prevailed between the two cousins who commanded, each desiring to cast the brunt of the war on the forces of the other.

At the outset Eugene had some successes. He carried the heights of St. Catherine, and by the aid of the English Admiral disembarked several heavy cannon from the ships which he turned against the town. But only a few days later Tessé brought up some considerable reinforcements and was enabled to retake the St. Catherine heights. Larger succours to the French were announced, to be commanded by the Duke of Burgundy the heir apparent of the Crown, and a separate corps under Count Medavi was already hovering on the flank of the Allies. Besides the danger of being thus cut off from Piedmont, they were streightened by a growing scarcity of provisions; and finally hopeless of success they resolved to raise the siege. This they did accordingly in the night of the 20th of August, wending

[4] Mémoires militaires de la Succession d'Espagne, vol. vii. p. 109.

CHAP. IX. 1707.

back by slow marches to the Var; and from thence as they had come, across the Col de Tende. Tessé was severely censured for having failed to harass and assail his foes in their difficult retreat. Complaints against him from some of his own officers came up to Versailles; and never again did Louis entrust to him the command of any army. Eugene on the other hand finding himself not pursued was able to retrieve his share of the campaign by an important service at its close; he reduced from Turin the town of Susa commanding the passage of the Alps.

There remains to tell the campaign of Marlborough in Flanders which from his just renown and his superior numbers might well have been expected to atone for the mischances of the rest. Strange to say it proved the most inactive and unimportant of all. The English chief desired to tempt the French to a battle upon advantageous terms; but the French were determined not to venture unless the advantage were upon their side. It was found moreover that the Dutch Deputies had returned to their former system of caution and cavil, scared as they were by the late disasters at Almanza and Stollhofen. The Duke took up a strong position at Meldert between the two Gheets and the Dyle, and there he was encamped for many weeks. The French were in his front in an equally strong position at Gembloux.

In August however Marlborough received intelligence that Vendome had detached thirteen battalions and twelve squadrons to the relief of Provence; and upon this the Dutch desisted from opposing any movement in advance. The Duke promptly passed the Dyle and marched first upon Genappe and then upon Nivelles hoping to bring Vendome to a general engagement. But Vendome, who had better reasons than ever to remain on the defensive, steadily fell back as Marlborough marched forward; and there was yet another check to Marlborough in most heavy summer rains.

It was at this period that the erratic Peterborough arrived at the English headquarters. Since he left Italy he had visited both the Court of Vienna and the camp of Alt Ranstadt; teeming with projects of all kinds both to Imperialists and Swedes. His letter to General Stanhope from Alt Ranstadt was in his usual lively vein. "I write to you from the country of wonders and uncertainty—from a place famous for the presence of three Kings, that of Sweden, Augustus, and Stanislaus. . . The King of Sweden gives more fears by his silence than ever any other monarch gave by his threats. It is undecided whether he is very wise or foolhardy; all we know is he has fifty thousand men mad enough to obey with pleasure all he can command."

Leaving Alt Ranstadt after no very satisfactory reception from King Charles, Peterborough had next proceeded to the camp of Marlborough, armed with large piles of state papers and most exuberant narratives of his conduct in Spain. Thus does Marlborough on the 15th of August describe it to the Duchess: "Since my last we have had one continued rain, so that neither the enemy nor we can stir out of our camps. I have at this time my winter clothes and a fire in my chamber; but what is worse the ill weather hinders me from going abroad, so that Lord Peterborough has the opportunity of very long conversations. What is said one day the next destroys, so that I have desired him to put his thoughts in writing." At last after a stay of ten days the Earl—greatly to the Duke's relief—set out for England to lay his case before the other Ministers. As Marlborough puts it to Godolphin, "he is very capable of pushing his animosities so far as to hurt himself, and give a good deal of trouble to others."

Meanwhile on the cessation of the rains Marlborough resumed his advance and led his troops across the Scheldt, but found the French still retire before him until at last they took up their position in some new and strong lines protected by the cannon of Lille. Then

CHAP. IX. 1707.

Marlborough having lost all hope of any achievement brought the campaign to a close. He repaired in the first place to the Hague; and thence to Frankfort, where he conferred with the Elector of Hanover and Count Wratislaw the Emperor's Minister; and he returned to England in the first week of November Old Style.

On reviewing the military transactions of 1707 in various parts of Europe the balance of advantages will be seen for the first time during several years to incline clearly and decidedly towards the scale of France. The Allies it is true had reduced the kingdom of Naples, but the long misgovernment of that country by the imbecile Court of Madrid had rendered it both an easy prey and an unprofitable conquest. There had been a disastrous battle in Spain, there had been none at all in Flanders. One Imperial army had been forced in the lines of Stollhofen; another compelled to raise with heavy losses the siege of Toulon. No wonder if considerable dissatisfaction was expressed, especially in England and Holland, which paid by far the largest share of the expense. Those countrymen of Marlborough above all who dissented from his politics and opposed his party were eager to fasten upon him a personal imputation. They alleged that he was prompted to resist moderate terms of peace and to carry on indecisive campaigns solely by the sordid desire to retain as long as possible his enormous emoluments as commander-in-chief of two armies the English and the Dutch.

It is painful to deal with such a charge as applied to such a man. It is painful to think that his passion for money could even for a moment give it any colour. But happily on a closer view it will be found to admit of decisive disproof. We may appeal for its refutation to his numerous letters addressed to the Duchess as still preserved at Blenheim and as published in great part by Archdeacon Coxe—letters written in the closest confidence and unreserve, and most assuredly without the slightest notion that they could ever even at this

distance of time meet any other eyes. Now these letters all through the years 1706 and 1707 show him yearning for repose—eager to relinquish his high posts at the first moment that he could with honour and duty. "Ease and the pleasure of being with you are what I most earnestly desire"—this with every variety of phrase is his constant aspiration. Nay in one passage of the year 1706 he alleges as a further motive the first touch which he began to feel of the infirmities of age. "Not that I take anything ill but that the weight is too great for me, and I find a decay in my memory." To the inroads of time upon him he indeed often refers, most commonly on public, sometimes also on family grounds. And thus on the 6th of June in the following year: "This day makes your humble servant fifty-seven. On all accounts I could wish myself younger, but for none so much as that I might have it more in my power to make myself agreeable to you whom I love with all my soul."[5]

The close of this campaign was followed by a worse disaster probably than any that its progress displayed. Sir Cloudesley Shovel and his fleet were returning from the siege of Toulon. They had reached the Scilly Isles in dark and tempestuous weather. There in the evening of the 22nd of October the Admiral's great ship the Association struck the Gilstone rock. So quickly did she go to pieces that as an eye-witness relates "in two minutes there was nothing more of him or of his ship seen;" and of the nine hundred persons then on board not a single one escaped. Lord Dursley in the St. George ran as great a peril and was saved by a most narrow turn; he struck the same ridge of rocks as Sir Cloudesley at almost the same moment; but the very wave which he saw drive in the Admiral's lights floated his own ship into deep water. But two other line-of-

[5] See Coxe's Marlborough, vol. iii. p. 96, 231, and 391. It is remarkable that although Coxe has inserted this letter fixing the Duke's birthday on the Duke's own authority as June 6 (New Style), he states it in his first page as June 24 (Old Style). The baptism was certainly upon the 28th.

CHAP. IX. 1707.

battle ships which followed, the Eagle and the Romney, were like the Association ingulfed. The fireships Phœnix and Firebrand ran ashore.

Of the crews and passengers of these three ships that perished, the Association, the Eagle, and the Romney, only one man was saved. He had been cast upon a reef called the Hellwethers, and some days elapsed in those stormy seas before a boat could put out for his rescue. It was noticed that the chaplain of the Association had been summoned to go and had gone on board another ship in the course of the same day to administer the Holy Communion to a dying man, and it was solely to this accident that his own preservation was due.

The ships that were spared from this terrible disaster cast anchor at the Scillys, where they remained some days; all the survivors in a state of grief and consternation more easily imagined than described. As it chanced the purser of the Arundel being on shore discovered in the hands of some fishermen a large emerald ring which he knew to have been worn by Sir Cloudesley Shovel. This led to a stern inquiry and a prompt confession. It then appeared that the Admiral's body had been washed to land on the day after the wreck, beneath a Dolmen of the Druids at Porth Hellick, or the Bay of Willows, shown to the present day in St. Mary's Isle as the scene of this event. There it was found by the islanders who stripped and plundered it, and then to conceal their plunder buried it deep in the sand. They were commanded to show the spot and to disinter the body, which when again brought to light seemed but little discomposed either by the waves that had tossed it or the sand in which it had lain. It was now inclosed in a coffin and conveyed to London, where it was distinguished by a public funeral and subsequently also by a stately monument in Westminster Abbey.[6]

[6] Compare two passages in Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. iv. p. 32 and 323. Complete History of Europe, 1707, p. 343; and the Handbook for Devon and Cornwall, p. 347.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel at the time of his decease might be regarded as at the head of his profession. Born of humble parents in Suffolk and bred apprentice to a shoemaker he was led by natural impulse to the Navy, which he entered with no higher rank than that of cabin-boy. But his merit quickly raised him from step to step until high in command; and in the many services upon which he was employed he was eminent alike for his conduct and his courage. Other exploits still might have been expected from that gallant man who at the dire event of the Gilstone was not yet fifty-seven years of age.

During the whole of this year the Queen's personal favour was as keenly contested as her superiority in arms. There was rapidly rising on the ruins of the Duchess of Marlborough's influence a young lady who, according to the fashion of that time, was surnamed not Miss but Mrs. Abigail Hill. Abigail was the Duchess's cousin, daughter of a decayed City merchant, and one of four brothers and sisters. The Duchess in her account of these transactions boasts of the kindness with which she provided for them all. Thus of one: "Her brother, whom the bottle-men afterwards called honest Jack Hill, was a tall boy whom I clothed (for he was all in rags) and put to school at St. Alban's." But perhaps it may be thought that as regards the interest of the military service her vindication recoils against herself or at least against the Duke; for Her Grace proceeds to say, "I afterwards got my Lord Marlborough to make him Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of Gloucester. And though my Lord always said that Jack Hill was good for nothing, yet to oblige me he made him his Aide-de-camp and afterwards gave him a regiment."[7]

The three remaining Hills were in like manner established by the Duchess at the public charge. Abigail

[7] Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 218, ed. 1742.

CHAP. IX. 1707.

was made a Bedchamber Woman to the Queen; her sister a laundress to the Duke of Gloucester; and her second brother obtained a place in the Customs. The Bedchamber Woman after a few years attracted the Queen's notice. Her placid temper and ingratiating manners might no doubt be favourably contrasted with the fretful and arrogant pretensions of her great protectress; and thus by degrees was Her Grace supplanted in Her Majesty's confidence and favour.

The Duchess states that for a long time she remained wholly unconscious of a rival. Her eyes were first opened in the summer of 1707, when she learnt that her cousin Hill had become the wife of Mr. Samuel Masham one of the Prince's gentlemen. On further inquiry it came out that, although the Duchess had not been apprised, the Queen herself was present at the marriage which took place privately in the apartments of Dr. Arbuthnot, one of the physicians of the Household. Her Majesty on that occasion called for "a round sum" out of the Privy Purse, which was supposed to be her present to the rising favourite.

This incident brought some others to the Duchess's mind. "I remembered," she says, "that a long while before this being with the Queen, to whom I had gone very privately by a secret passage, on a sudden this woman, not knowing I was there, came in with the boldest and gayest air imaginable, but upon sight of me stopped, and immediately changing her manner and making a most solemn courtesy asked: 'Did your Majesty ring?'"

The Duchess thus roused to suspicion sharply taxed Abigail with deceit and ingratitude, and addressed her Royal Mistress in strains of resentful expostulation. By these as might be expected the breach was only widened. The Queen without making any change in the offices held by the Duchess accorded to her less and less of her company and confidence, and in reply to her

numerous letters at a rather later period, directly charged her (to use Her Majesty's own words) with "inveteracy against poor Masham" and with "having nothing so much at heart as the ruin of your cousin."

It was no mere question of Court honours or of feminine wrangles. Besides being cousin to the Jennings Mrs. Masham had another cousinhood in a different direction but as near to Harley. With that statesman, still a Minister, she was in constant and familiar communication. The belief was strong that whatever influence she might gain over her Royal Mistress would be exerted in pursuance of his counsels and in promotion of his power. It was on Church matters above all that Godolphin and the Marlboroughs, Duke and Duchess, mistrusted the insinuations of Harley. "For my part," says Her Grace, "the word Church had never any charm for me in the mouths of those who made the most noise with it." But even in the palmiest days of her Court favour she could not on this one point overrule the Queen. Her Majesty on this point regarded some of her Ministers as wholly latitudinarian, and rather inclined to the Tories, "whom," continues the Duchess, "she usually called by the agreeable name of the Church party."[8] It is certainly true that Anne had no penetrating genius of her own to guide her. She may well have been mistaken in any particular cases. But she deserves this praise, that she conscientiously felt, which some of her advisers did not, the solemn responsibility of ecclesiastical appointments, and was unwilling to make them on mere party or political grounds such as Godolphin urged.

Acting on these views the Queen during many weeks resisted or evaded a pressing recommendation of Marlborough to name Dr. Potter Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. There was no doubt as to Dr. Potter's character and learning, but the Queen was not fully satisfied of his Church principles, and would

[8] Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 134.

CHAP. IX. 1707.

greatly have preferred Dr. Smalridge. "The consequence is," Marlborough wrote at last, "that if Dr. Potter has not the Professor's place I will never more meddle with anything that may concern Oxford."[9] It was owing perhaps to this portentous threat that Anne finally yielded.

At nearly the same time there arose another and more important occasion. Two Sees, Exeter and Chester, had to be filled from the decease of Bishop Trelawney and Bishop Stratford. The Queen apprehending some proposal which she would find distasteful, resolved to anticipate it by a decision of her own. Without consulting any of her Ministers she offered the vacant dignities to Dr. Blackall and Sir William Dawes. It is not denied that these Divines were, as Burnet says, "men of value and worth," but it is alleged and with truth that they held High Church and Tory opinions.

Godolphin and the Marlboroughs were, and with good reason, much offended. They addressed some warm remonstrances to the Queen, who however could not recede from the promises already made. They thought that Her Majesty had acted at the secret instigation of Harley, and Godolphin writing to the latter taxed him with this in angry terms. But as against this we have not only Harley's solemn denial but the Queen's own Royal words. Thus did she express herself to Marlborough who was still abroad: "I believe you have been told as I have that these two persons were recommended to me by Mr. Harley, which is so far from being true that he knew nothing of it till it was the talk of the town. I do assure you these men were my own choice. They are certainly very fit for the station I design them; and indeed I think myself obliged to fill the Bishops' Bench with those that will be a credit to it and to the

[9] To the Duchess, June 23, 1707.

Church and not always to take the recommendations of 29 (the Whig Junto)."

The persons to whom in this cypher the Queen referred, that is the heads of the Whig party then in alliance with the Ministers, showed themselves far more incensed on this occasion than even the Ministers themselves. They declared that they must withdraw their support from the Government, unless on Church appointments the Queen were effectually coerced. It was in vain that at a meeting of their principal men in the House of Commons the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire appeared in the name of the Queen to say, that although she had engaged herself so far in relation to those two Bishoprics, and was bound to fulfil her promises, yet for the future she was resolved to give the gentlemen present full satisfaction. They were only half appeased when a third Bishopric becoming opportunely vacant the Queen seized the opportunity of preferring Dr. Trimnell, a Divine of thorough Whig principles and a former tutor of Lord Sunderland. Their chiefs still violently urged that Harley was at the bottom of some dark intrigue which he carried on with the aid of Abigail, and they insisted that this favorite of a favorite should no longer be permitted to hold the Secretary's Seals.

Finding that they could not immediately prevail in this favorite object, the Whig chiefs directed their wrath against Godolphin and Marlborough who they said were but half-hearted in the cause. They threatened to strike a blow more especially at the Duke, through the sides of his brother George. This brother, a sailor in profession and an Admiral in rank, was a leading member of Prince George's Council, and as such took a principal part in the direction of sea-affairs. Now as it chanced there were at this time some naval miscarriages to be complained of from the failure of cruisers and convoys in divers places and the consequent loss of several merchant-ships. But above all there was

CHAP. IX. 1707.

the loss of several men-of-war. Five line of battle ships had been ordered to the coast of Portugal as a convoy to a great fleet of merchantmen. Against these the French had combined a squadron from Dunkirk and another from Brest under Du Gué Trouin and the Chevalier de Forbin, two of their best commanders, and making fourteen sail in all. The Admiralty, it was alleged, had received but had neglected a warning of this intended junction. Off the Lizard then the English ships found themselves assailed by well-nigh threefold numbers, and in spite of their gallant defence were overpowered. Three of them were taken, and one blown up, so that only one escaped. But they had fought so long that the merchantmen were enabled meanwhile to make press of sail and to reach Lisbon in safety without being pursued.

To arraign Admiral Churchill as the main cause of these mischances—to attack him on that account in Parliament, was naturally very tempting to the friends of Somers. For Churchill was still as Marlborough was once a zealous Tory; and he had been always what Marlborough was never, indiscreet and hot-headed, loving to revile the Whigs even when he could not counteract them. Nay it was commonly alleged that in his politics he was not only Tory but had a Jacobite leaning, and that for the succession to the throne he looked to St. Germain's.

Marlborough who was still upon the Continent did his best by letter to appease the Whigs. But he found all that he could urge very coldly received. Sunderland his own son-in-law answered him in reproachful terms. Halifax vouchsafed no reply at all to his protestations. Then brooding over "the contempt of Lord Halifax," for so he called it, the Duke's spirit rose, and he writes as follows to the Duchess: "England will take care of itself and not be ruined because a few men are not pleased. . . By my letter to the Queen you will see

that I have endeavoured to do the Whigs the best office I can; but I shall think it a very ill return if they fall upon my brother George." Still Marlborough was cautious. Why should any brother bring him into trouble? And thus he adds: "I do with all my heart wish he would be so wise as to quit his place."

In the midst of these cabals the Parliament—the first Parliament of Great Britain—met on the 23rd of October. As usual the first week was occupied in forms. Mr. John Smith of Andover was for the second time elected Speaker; and the Scottish Peers and Members chosen according to the Articles of Union were in due form admitted. Then after another week's adjournment the Queen on the 6th of November delivered her opening Speech. In its terms as Godolphin had prepared them it endeavoured to smooth away some of the mischances of the war. Thus of one: "Although the attempt upon Toulon had not wholly its desired effect it has nevertheless been attended with many great and obvious advantages to the common cause this year." Certainly it was wise to adhere to such general terms, since the "obvious advantages" of relinquishing an enterprise with heavy loss are by no means clear to view.

The House of Commons however, without any great notice of past deficiencies, voted the Supplies required for the due prosecution of the war with such alacrity and promptitude that the Queen was enabled so early as the 18th of December to express her acknowledgments on that account. There were Estimates for 40,000 seamen, at 2,080,000*l.*; "the ordinary of the navy," 120,000*l.*; 50,000 landsmen in Flanders and 10,000 additional, 1,071,000*l.*; the proportion of the Palatines, of the Saxons and of the Hanoverians together, 86,000*l.*; guards and garrisons and 5,000 men on the fleet, 511,000*l.*; and the forces in Spain and Portugal, 586,000*l.* Besides these there stood as "Subsidies to the Allies" 494,000*l.*, with half-a-million for what were

CHAP. IX. 1707.

termed "the Duke of Savoy's augmentations" and a further grant of 100,000*l.* to the same Prince as the Duke's "special service in 1707." Altogether the sums required and granted for naval and military services came close upon 6,000,000*l.* It was an amount which seemed altogether stupendous to the financiers of Queen Anne's reign. "Six millions of supplies and almost fifty millions of debt!" cried Swift towards the end of the year; "the High Allies have been the ruin of us!"

It soon appeared that the great alacrity in voting the supplies was only intended to give a keener edge to the reproaches on the ill conduct of the war. See, it might be said, how ready we are in Parliament, and how unready you are in office! It was found that the leaders of the Whigs had contrived a temporary league or combination for that object with the High Tory chiefs. As usual in that age the House of Peers was considered the more important scene. No sooner had it met than Lord Wharton started up as spokesman of the Whigs to inveigh against the Government for the decay of trade—as though trade could be expected to flourish in the midst of a general war. He was supported by Lord Somers, who expatiated on the ill condition and late mismanagement of the Navy. Rochester and Buckingham for once appeared on the same side. Thus when the Earl of Stamford moved in customary form an Address of Thanks to the Queen in return for her gracious Speech he was answered that they ought in the first place to consider the state of the Nation. So strong was the new confederacy, or so timid the Prime Minister, that the Address of Thanks was allowed to drop and a day appointed when the state of the nation might be further discussed.

The day appointed was the 19th of November, the House going into Committee with Lord Herbert of Cherbury in the Chair.[1] Then again Lord Wharton took

[1] Lords' Journals, Nov. 19, 1707. This entry fixes the date, which is inaccurately given in the Parliamentary History.

the lead, presenting in the first place a petition from two hundred London merchants who complained of their great losses "by the ill-timing of convoys and want of cruisers." He descanted on these topics, and a keen debate ensued in which Admiral Churchill was not forgotten. Marlborough did not address the House in his brother's defence, but was observed as soon as the discussion was over to take Lord Wharton aside and expostulate warmly with him. The Queen also was present "incognito;" which was the phrase then used whenever Her Majesty came to hear a discussion without Royal state or attendance. Prince George was at this time gradually sinking under two mortal maladies, an asthma and a dropsy, and it must have been deeply painful to the Queen to witness the unsparing attacks on the department over which in name at least he continued to preside.

To bring this debate to a practical issue it was moved by another Whig chief Lord Halifax, that a Committee should be appointed to receive proposals for the encouragement of trade and privateers in the West Indies. This motion implied that the Board of Admiralty would not of itself take the right and necessary measures, and might therefore be considered as indirectly a vote of censure. Nevertheless the Lord Treasurer fearing to see it carried by the strength of the new Whig-Tory alliance, rose in a spirit of rather too tame submission, and declared himself willing to second it. The Committee was accordingly named.

Lord Peterborough's case was another subject of attack. When the Earl had returned to England he found both the Secretaries of State, though for different reasons, almost equally indisposed against him. Harley, a man of slow routine, stood aghast not only at Peterborough's faults but even at his merits. Sunderland, a most ardent Whig, was resolved on party grounds to maintain Lord Galway under all vicissitudes of fortune.

CHAP. IX.

1707.

After some delay, which his enemies interpreted as disrespect, Peterborough had applied to see the Queen, but was answered by Sunderland that Her Majesty must decline to receive him until after he had explained to her satisfaction certain points that were laid to his charge. Thus repulsed by the Ministers the Earl with his usual impetuosity threw himself into the arms of the Tories. He employed his physician Dr. Freind to compile a book in his praise; and he urged his new friends to bring on his case in Parliament.

The main debate upon it took place in the Peers on the 19th of December, the House going once more into Committee on the State of the Nation with Lord Herbert in the Chair, and the Queen again present "incognito." Then Rochester stood forth as the champion of his brother Earl. First he recapitulated the great services which Peterborough had performed. "It has been the constant practice" he added "that when a person of rank who has been employed abroad in an eminent post returns home, he has either thanks given him or else is called to an account. The same ought to be done now."—Halifax supported Rochester but in guarded terms, and only so far as his party ties to Lord Galway would allow. Like Rochester, he extolled Lord Peterborough's valor and skill; observing however that a Vote of Thanks to him should be postponed until the whole course of his conduct had been examined, according to his own request. Peterborough himself spoke with great zeal for the public cause. "We ought" he cried "to give the Queen nineteen shillings in the pound rather than make peace till King Charles is seated on his throne." And he added that if it were thought needful he was ready to return to the scene of action and to serve even under the Earl of Galway. But this moderation came too late. Even one tithe of it if shown in Spain might have sufficed to retain him with the troops and to raise him in effect to the first

rank among them. Now on the contrary he had shut himself out from all prospect of further command.

But the debate of the 19th of December did not treat of personal matters only. The entire conduct of the war was discussed. "I remember" said Rochester "the saying of a great General the old Duke of Schomberg, that the attacking France in the Netherlands is like taking a bull by the horns. My opinion is therefore that we should stand on the defensive in Flanders and send from thence 15 or 20,000 men into Catalonia." Nottingham who spoke next expressed his entire concurrence in these views.

When Nottingham sat down Marlborough immediately rose to show the dangers of what he might truly call "such an undigested counsel" and the necessity of augmenting rather than diminishing our forces in the Netherlands. The reasons he gave were mainly two. First that most of the enemies' strong places in Flanders might be kept by one battalion in each, whilst the great towns in Brabant which we had conquered, as Ghent and Bruges, required twenty times that number of men for their preservation. Secondly, that if our army in the Netherlands were weakened and the French should in consequence, as they probably might, gain very considerable advantages, the discontented party in Holland would not fail to cry aloud for peace. It was one of the very few occasions on which we find Marlborough stirred to a burst of passion; "strange" said Rochester when replying "in that Noble Peer who has ever been conspicuous for his calmness and moderation." And Rochester added, "There is, I again maintain it, an absolute necessity for us English to succour King Charles, and the more so since the Noble Earl (of Peterborough) has this day reported to us the opinion of Prince Eugene; that the German soldiers had rather be decimated than sent into Spain."

Marlborough was allowed a rejoinder. "Although"

CHAP. IX. 1707.

he said "it is improper to disclose secret projects in so large an assembly, yet to gratify your Lordships I can assure you that measures have been already concerted with the Emperor for the forming of an army of 40,000 men under the Duke of Savoy, and for sending powerful succours to King Charles; and it is to be hoped that Prince Eugene may be prevailed upon to go and command in Spain, in which case the Germans would gladly follow him."

With this speech ended the debate. It had not been possible for Somers and the Whigs to support the views of Rochester as to the war in Flanders, pledged as they had always been to the system of King William. Somers however applied himself to frame a Resolution on which both Whigs and Tories could unite. Accordingly before Lord Herbert left the Chair the following words were moved by the Whig leader: "It is the opinion of this Committee that no peace can be honorable or safe for Her Majesty or her Allies if Spain and the Spanish West Indies be suffered to continue in the power of the House of Bourbon." This Resolution was agreed to without a dissentient voice. Then, the House still in Committee, Wharton and Halifax acting in concert with Somers made two further motions which were combined in one Address. It prayed Her Majesty to continue to make the most pressing instances that the Emperor might send powerful succours to Spain with expedition and under the command of Prince Eugene, and might further reinforce both the army of the Duke of Savoy and his own upon the Rhine. This Address was unanimously carried, as was also in the whole House the Address of Thanks so long delayed for Her Majesty's Speech at the commencement of the Session.

The passing of these two Resolutions in Committee was the last act of the short-lived alliance at this time between the Whigs and Tories out of place. That alliance

had already produced all the effect that Somers and his friends intended or desired. It had thoroughly terrified Godolphin. He had bent before it as the reed before the tempest, and he hoped by further submissions to dissolve it. He made at this juncture pressing overtures of reconciliation to the Whig chiefs. They were assured that Godolphin and Marlborough would henceforth make common cause with them, and carry through all their objects however great might be the repugnance of the Queen.

On these conditions—on the prospect of seeing at an early period his party restored to power—Somers was well content to relinquish all connection with the Tories. He signalised this change of course by a step of singular skill and boldness, though not perhaps altogether just to his late allies. At the close of the debate on the 19th the Lords had appointed a Select Committee to embody in the usual form for presentation to the Queen the Resolutions just reported from the Committee of the House. It was supposed that the business was merely verbal, and the Committee of but little importance, nor was any umbrage taken when its members were named almost wholly from the Whigs. Scarce any Tory name but Rochester's appeared upon it.

The Committee having met next day as ordered "at the Prince's lodgings near the House of Peers," Lord Somers was called to the Chair and proceeded at once to make a most important motion. It will be remembered that the Resolutions as carried in the House stated an opinion that no peace would be safe or honorable which left in the power of the House of Bourbon Spain or the Spanish West Indies. That was an opinion from which in all probability not even a single member of either House of Parliament would have dissented. But Somers now proposed to alter these words into "Spain, the West Indies, or any part of the Spanish monarchy." This made it a wholly different question.

CHAP. IX. 1707.

This brought it into opposition with the views more or less avowed at that period of many eminent men both in England and in Holland. This implied that not even Naples, nor Sicily, nor Sardinia should be left to Philip on his consenting to relinquish the throne of Spain. It was a proposal which neither Louis nor his grandson would accept unless in the most dire extremity, and it therefore seemed to involve a further vast effusion of blood and treasure, and a continuance of the war during several more campaigns.

The altered Resolution with a new and according Preamble was readily passed by the Select Committee and was reported by Somers to the House at the earliest possible moment; the first business upon Monday the 22nd of December. Then Somers moved and the Lords ordered that a Message should be sent to the Commons desiring their concurrence in the proposed Address. So far as we can gather from the scanty records of this singular transaction it seems to have taken the Tories in both Houses by surprise. They had no time for concert or deliberation, and they may have feared to incur the popular disfavor by resisting the extension of the national claims. Certain it is that they remained entirely passive. Before the Peers rose that same day the Address was returned from the Commons as concurred in by that House, nor did any one of their Lordships raise his voice against it. It went up therefore to the Queen as the joint Address of the two Houses; and the Queen in her answer as framed by Godolphin and Marlborough declared herself fully of the opinion it expressed.

Thus did Somers prevail. By these means was he able to carry both the Houses very much further than very many of the principal men in either desired or designed, and to pledge the Parliament, so far as it could be pledged, to an indefinite prolongation of the war.

CHAPTER X.

1707.

On the 1st of May, as already stated, the Act of Union came into practical effect. The earliest proceedings under it were such as still further to increase the disfavor with which it was viewed north of Tweed. New Commissioners of Customs and Excise had been named, consisting in great part of Englishmen. With them came a crowd of subordinate officers trained in the English methods and imposing them abruptly on the Scottish people, so that even where the new taxes were not burdensome they were at least vexatious. To enforce and carry through the collection of revenue the Scottish Privy Council appointed by a new Commission Scottish Justices of Peace, but the powers of these being limited of course by the laws of their own country were found to be feudal rather than fiscal and of slight avail for the purposes desired. In these departments and in others also the evils were strongly felt of several still subsisting distinctions. What might be well for Scotland was not well for North Britain.

It would indeed have been strange if the Court of St. Germain's had been slow to discern or willing to let pass the growing discontents in its ancient kingdom. Projects for an expedition to Scotland, combined with a popular rising, were submitted to the Court of Versailles. As a preliminary step Colonel Hooke, a Jacobite exile in the French service, was secretly sent over from the Continent to obtain authentic information and negotiate with the friends of the cause. In March, 1707, Hooke landed on the coast of Aberdeenshire, and went first for some days to Slains Castle, the seat of the Earl of Errol.

CHAP. X. 1707.

Thence he proceeded in turn to divers other houses. The report which he presented to the French government on his return in the following July, as also the memorials which he brought from Scotland, were published half a century afterwards.[1]

Colonel Hooke, it appears, found not a few of the Peers and landed gentlemen willing to transmit to him professions of hearty zeal, and promises of future aid. But most of these carefully avoided any positive engagement or even any personal interview. The Duke of Hamilton, on whom he mainly relied, sent to him several times his favourite priest and secretary Mr. Hall, but declared himself too ill to see him, having lately had he said twenty-nine attacks of fever. The Duke of Athol in like manner took to his bed when he heard of Hooke's approach. The Earl of Breadalbane, now well nigh fourscore years of age, sent as many assurances to James as he ever had to William, and showed the utmost curiosity as to the intentions of his neighbours, but meanwhile would put his name to no document. Far different was the course of Lord Kinnaird. He signed the Memorial which was presented to him on the same day, and he refused to see the names of those who had signed before him, saying that what he did was from a principle of duty, and that he wanted no authority nor example to decide him.

The capacity of Hooke himself was scarcely equal to the delicate and difficult task which was assigned him. While he thus negotiated with the Lowland noblemen he seems to have neglected the Highland chiefs, although far the more important when a rising was in view. On the whole however he brought back to the Court of Versailles assurances from a certain number of great men in Scotland, that if their young King as they called

[1] Secret History of Colonel Hooke's Negotiations in Scotland, London, 1760. This narrative should be compared with corresponding entries in the Lockhart Papers.

him came over they would immediately take up arms with 30,000 vassals, followers and friends. But to secure the young King and themselves while this army was forming they required that Louis should send with him a French force of 10,000, or at the very least 5,000 men.

Louis on his part was well inclined to the enterprise, but postponed it for further consideration until the ensuing year. Meanwhile as we have seen the Parliament met. One paragraph in the Queen's Speech referred to Scotland, and invited the consideration of further measures to complete the Union. These were afterwards explained to be to abolish the separate Privy Council for Scotland, and to assimilate to the English practice the powers of the Justices of the Peace. A Bill to enact these changes—in its title "for rendering the Union of the two kingdoms more entire and complete"—was accordingly introduced in the Commons.

It is scarcely to be doubted that in the main this new legislation was greatly for the good of Scotland. The Privy Council in that country was altogether different from the Privy Council in England. It was armed with arbitrary powers and functions; and had been the willing instrument of the worst tyranny in the days of Charles the Second. Nevertheless the reform was most ill-timed. It seemed in the fullest manner to confirm the previous apprehensions that, when once the two Parliaments were united, the English members would avail themselves of their far superior numbers to force down an entire uniformity of system upon the Scottish people —to deprive them it was said of their liberties and laws.

With this exasperation of the general feeling the benefits of the particular measure were of course wholly disregarded. In the House of Commons the members from Scotland, all or nearly all, opposed it. There however it was with little difficulty passed. But in the Lords it was most fiercely fought. The representative Peers, the heads of great Whig families in Scotland

CHAP. X. 1707. —as Argyle and Hay—Loudoun and Leven—Rosebery and Stair—combined as one man against it, and seem to have carried far greater weight than their brethren in the Commons. It was determined to take the trial of strength on the Third Reading, which was fixed for the 1708. 7th of February ensuing.

The two Ministers meanwhile had brought to a point their difference with Harley. It was no light matter for Marlborough especially to relinquish a colleague with whom he was connected by ties of early friendship and long continued political agreement. It was foreseen both by the Duke and Godolphin that if Harley were dismissed the other Tories still in office would at once resign, and that the administration would be entirely under Whig control. Harley himself endeavoured by a personal interview with Godolphin to clear himself from the suspicions under which he labored. For a long time the Lord Treasurer, weighing one cause of alarm against another and quivering at each, paused and hesitated. But the political necessity which has already been explained finally impelled him onward.

There was another incident at this juncture greatly to the disservice of Harley. A clerk in his office, William Gregg by name, had been employed by him as a spy in Scotland and elsewhere. More recently this man had entered into a treasonable correspondence with M. de Chamillart, the French Secretary of State. He was wont to slip his letters into the packets which Marshal Tallard as a prisoner in England used to send unsealed to the Secretary's office to be there examined and then forwarded. One of these packets being on some suspicion opened in Holland was found to contain the copy of a draft, which Gregg transmitted, of a letter which it was designed the Queen should write in her own hand to the Emperor, requesting him, according to the wish expressed in Parliament, to appoint Prince Eugene to Spain. Gregg had even been able in the copy to mark

those passages first written by Harley as Secretary of State, and those others added by Godolphin as Prime Minister.

In consequence of this discovery Gregg was taken into custody and examined before the Privy Council when he acknowledged his guilt. On the 19th of January he was brought to trial at the Old Bailey, found Guilty on his own confession, and condemned to death. At the same time two smugglers named Bara and Vallière were also committed to Newgate. Harley had taken them into pay as spies, and frequently sent them over to Calais for that object, but they betraying his protection had carried counter-tidings to the French. It was thought that the intelligence which they were able to collect in our ports as to the sailing or the situation of our convoys might have been the cause of the heavy losses which we had recently sustained at sea.

In consequence of these transactions doubts of Harley's own fidelity were expressed without scruple by his political opponents. Meanwhile the two great Ministers having surmounted their own repugnance to his dismissal were laboring to overcome the repugnance of the Queen. But Anne continued firm. She acted on a religious feeling, overstrained no doubt but as certainly sincere. In her zeal for the Church she desired to retain Harley as a zealous Churchman in her service, which in her opinion did not at that period comprise too many such.

It must be felt, I conceive, even by those who admit the prejudice of Anne, and have no sympathy of feeling with the Tories of her reign, that the poor Queen was at this time sore beset. For several months past her husband had been slowly sinking under a mortal malady. Never did she intermit the most affectionate care. Never did she cease to share his bed, even though he was compelled by the violence of asthma to raise himself sometimes for great part of the night while his

CHAP. X. 1708.

consort had to watch and tend him. By day she would sit at his side hour after hour as he painfully panted for breath, and she remained in the adjoining apartment ready to be called in when he snatched an uneasy slumber in the afternoons. It was during these intervals, while herself oppressed with sorrow and weariness, that she had to withstand the sharp and reproachful representations of Godolphin for the removal of a Minister whom she trusted and esteemed.

Godolphin and with him Marlborough finding their complaints unheeded had recourse, as they had often before, to the threat of resignation. The Queen, as Bishop Burnet tells us, seemed not much concerned at Godolphin's offering to lay down, but she was greatly touched at the impending loss of Marlborough, and studied with some soft expressions to dissuade him. It would seem however that the Duke's intention to resign applied only to his offices at home and did not extend to his foreign command. This is not expressly stated at the time, but may be probably deduced from his correspondence with the Duchess during the last campaign. Thus he wrote: "For my own part I am out of heart and wonder at the courage of Lord Treasurer, for were I used, as I do not doubt but I shall, as he is, by the Whigs who threaten to abandon him whenever the Queen displeases, I would not continue in business for all the world could give me; and I believe they would be the first that would have reason to repent. . . . . When I say this I know I must go on in the command I have here as long as the war lasts, but I would have nothing to do anywhere else." [2]

Harley on his part protested that he had no other view than to continue the administration with the very basis upon which it had been founded, a combination of moderate Tories and moderate Whigs, so that neither party should have the entire ascendant and control.

[2] Coxe's Marlborough, vol. iii. p. 376.

The Queen had the same desire, and it was hoped that the remaining members of the Cabinet or most of them, acting on this principle, would acquiesce in the secession of their two most powerful colleagues.

The Duchess of Marlborough also came forward at this juncture. Suddenly one morning she appeared before the Queen. "Since" she cried with tears and sobs "Lord Marlborough is now about to be forced from your Majesty's service, I cannot in honour remain any longer at Court;" and she then proceeded to implore a Royal promise that whenever she did retire the numerous offices which she held might be divided between her two elder daughters. Anne endeavoured to elude compliance, repeating several times with apparent kindness, "you and I must never part." But the Duchess was not to be diverted from her purpose. She continued to press her suit with so much importunity that the Queen at last gave way and made the promise required; and the Duchess then took her leave kissing the Queen's hand.—This story might well have been regarded as a calumny of one of the Duchess's enemies were it not recorded by a narrative in her own handwriting.[3]

Such was the situation of parties on Saturday the 7th of February when there was moved in the House of Lords the Third Reading of the Bill to render the Union with Scotland more complete. An amendment was brought forward that the Privy Council of Scotland should determine on the 1st of October next instead of the 1st of May; the opponents of the measure feeling that if they could but gain time they might probably defeat it altogether. But in its support was raised the eloquent and authoritative voice of Somers. There are still on record the ample minutes of the speech, fraught with unanswer-

[3] See a summary of this manuscript in Coxe's Marlborough, vol. iv. p. 43. From the short corresponding passage in the "Conduct" (p. 254) it might be supposed that the promise was spontaneous.

CHAP. X.

able arguments, which he addressed to the House in this debate.[4]

1708. Godolphin and Marlborough appear on this occasion to have regarded themselves as virtually out of office and no longer bound to support the measures of their own administration. They found the opponents to this Bill far more numerous and far more vehement than they had foreseen; and they may have desired by siding with them to gain the future adherence of the Scottish people. Under these circumstances they gave their votes for the amendment, which on the division was rejected only by the narrow majority of five, the numbers being 45 and 50. But further still on the consequent passing of the Bill a Protest against the whole measure was immediately entered on the Journals, and among the signatures we may observe with some surprise the names of three of its authors, Godolphin, Marlborough, and Cowper.

The political crisis however was determined by a Cabinet Council which had been summoned to meet on the following day, namely Sunday, the 8th of February. It was usual in that age, I may observe in passing, for the Cabinets to meet upon the Day of Rest, and usual also for the Sovereign to preside at them. That same morning Godolphin and Marlborough waited on the Queen to state that Harley still continuing in office they could not attend the Cabinet nor take any further part as Her Majesty's Ministers. Anne allowed them to depart and went to the Cabinet as usual. There Harley produced his papers as Secretary of State and began to open the business of his department. But around him he saw grim faces and he heard half-muttered complaints. As he paused the Duke of Somerset rose and said, "I do not see how we can deliberate to any purpose when neither the General nor the Treasurer are present." This observation he repeated

[4] They are published in the Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. p. 473.

twice, and with some vehemence, while the other Ministers expressed their agreement by their looks. The Queen remained silent but presently withdrew, leaving the business of the day undone.

It was plain from the proceedings at this Cabinet that Harley had desired to continue in office with the aid of certain of his colleagues. It was possible that he might still be intent on forming a wholly new administration. A whisper of these circumstances was not slow in spreading among the principal Whigs, and had considerable influence on the proceedings of the House of Lords next day. Then, that is on Monday the 9th, we learn from the lists in the Journals that both Marlborough and Godolphin were present. Then it appears that the House resolved to appoint by ballot a Committee of Seven Lords to examine William Gregg, lately convicted of High Treason and under sentence of execution in Newgate. It was well understood on all sides that this Committee was designed as a menace against Harley, and with the hope of involving him in a criminal charge. Such an object was still more apparent when, as the result of the ballot for the Committee, there came forth seven names of zealous Whigs, namely Devonshire, Somerset, Bolton, Wharton, Townshend, Somers and Halifax. The extreme unfairness of seeking to try any statesman by a body consisting solely of his political opponents seems to have been overlooked amidst the political passions of that time.

Harley however had no intention of prolonging the contest for power. He considered the result of the last Cabinet as decisive against him, and he pressed the Queen next day to accept his resignation. With much hesitation and still more reluctance Anne at last complied, and his resignation took place accordingly on the 11th of the same month. With him retired Henry St. John, Secretary at War, Sir Simon Harcourt, Attorney-General, and Sir Thomas Mansell, Comptroller

CHAP. X. 1708.

of the Household. Thus was the Tory Opposition reinforced by two powerful chiefs, the plausible Harley and the "all-accomplished St. John" during the very month in which Death deprived them of Sir Edward Seymour, so long in their front ranks, though of late confined by his infirmities to his country-house and even to his chair.

On the other hand the two great Ministers, "the Treasurer and General" as they were often called, were restored to the Queen's presence and Councils though certainly not to her favor. The Seals of Secretary of State were given to Henry Boyle, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a zealous Whig, but greatly esteemed by all parties. He was succeeded at the Exchequer by the Speaker, John Smith, although his formal appointment was deferred until after he should leave the Chair at the end of the Session. The successor of St. John at the War Office was Robert Walpole, the most rising man in the Whig as was St. John in the Tory ranks. Earl Cholmondeley became Comptroller of the Household; but the office of Attorney-General remained vacant during several months, since the Queen could by no means reconcile herself to Sir James Montagu, a brother of Halifax, whom Godolphin pressed upon her.

The seven Whig Lords assembled in the Peers' Committee were more assiduous than successful in their task. They went to Newgate to examine Gregg; they had also before them the two smugglers, and other witnesses. But with all their pains nothing was elicited in any quarter to impeach the loyalty of Harley. At the same time however it was clearly proved against him that he was negligent and slatternly in his transaction of business. All the papers of state, said Gregg, used to lie so carelessly about his office, that every one belonging to it, even the door-keepers, might have read them, and it was in this manner that Gregg himself had obtained his information.

The Committee having concluded their inquiries and

presented their Report, Gregg after some further respite was left to undergo his doom. A paper which he gave in at his execution contains these words: "And I do sacredly protest that, as I shall answer it before the Judgment Seat of Christ, the gentleman aforesaid (the Right Hon. Robert Harley, Esq.) was not privy to my writing to France directly nor indirectly."[5] Nevertheless the rage of party was not on either side appeased. The Whigs continued to whisper that though Gregg had been staunch Harley had shared in his treason. The Tories did not scruple to affirm that the Committee had tampered with the prisoner and held out to him a hope of pardon if he would but accuse his chief.

While thus torn by faction at home we found ourselves exposed to some loss of influence with our nearest and best ally. An opportunity to rouse against us the jealousy of Holland occurred to Louis the Fourteenth. It came from a Treaty of Commerce signed at Barcelona on the 10th of July preceding, between General Stanhope as the Queen's Minister and Prince Lichtenstein and others on the part of Charles. Diminution of duties and simplification of forms were therein stipulated in a manner no doubt greatly to the benefit of England, but which, according to the larger views of Adam Smith as they have since prevailed, would have been no less for the benefit of Spain.

But besides the stipulations in the Treaty there was a separate and secret Article of much greater importance. This provided that after a General Peace there should be formed a Company of Commerce to the Indies, that is, to the Spanish dominions in America, the Company to consist conjointly of the subjects of Spain and the subjects of Great Britain. In case however of unforeseen accidents or obstacles the Article further declared, that during any interval between the conclusion of such a

[5] See the whole Declaration in the Complete History of Europe, 1708, p. 172.

CHAP. X. 1708.

Peace and the establishment of such a Company the subjects of Great Britain might send every year to the Spanish Indies ten ships, each of five hundred tons, with liberty of trade, the subjects of France to be for ever excluded from any like privilege.[6]

This Treaty had been negotiated by Stanhope with anxious care during many months, and it was warmly approved by the Ministers in England. Thus as Secretary of State wrote to him Lord Sunderland: "I am very glad the Treaty of Commerce is so happily concluded and that you have had the honor of it. . . . . As it is certain notwithstanding our misfortune at Almanza no Englishman can ever think of putting an end to this war but by settling King Charles upon the throne of Spain, so it is very fortunate to have this matter concluded whilst they are yet in adversity, for I am afraid their gratitude would hardly effect it."[7]

The satisfaction was not quite the same upon the other side. Charles and his Ministers had no sooner concluded the Treaty than they were seized with doubts and qualms. So jealous were the Spaniards of any even the smallest participation in their South American trade, that great popular disfavor would undoubtedly ensue from terms so liberal accorded to aliens and to heretics. The Separate Article was indeed to be kept a secret, but how long would that secret be preserved? Under these apprehensions Charles did not ratify the treaty for six months, that is not till January 1708. By that time Stanhope had returned to England on leave of absence. The ratified Treaty was at once sent after him, being embarked at Barcelona to go on by land from Genoa. As it chanced the sloop that bore it was captured on its way by a French frigate; and the captain who had been apprised of the importance of his

[6] The entire Treaty appears in Lambeity's collection, vol. iv. p. 592, and there is a summary of it in Tin dal's History, vol. iv. p. 415.

[7] To General Stanhope, July 8 and August 5, 1707 (MS.).

freight rather than allow it to be taken threw it overboard. But the sea being shallow in that part, the secret packet was recovered by the aid of divers, and transmitted to the Marquis de Torcy at Versailles. By order of his Royal Master Torcy found means to lay it before the States General, foreseeing that it could not fail to irritate and inflame them in a high degree against their English allies.

Louis was in hopes at this period to strike a blow against Great Britain in what he deemed its most vulnerable part. Carefully concealing his design he planned an expedition to Scotland. There was made ready at Dunkirk a squadron of five men-of-war with transports and frigates, the command of the whole being assigned to the Chevalier de Forbin, the best seaman of France at that time. From St. Germain's would be sent over that young Prince whom his adherents called King and his enemies Pretender, but whom both could mention as on common ground by the title which he took at this period, the Chevalier de St. George, or more shortly the Chevalier. With him as his guide and Mentor was to go an experienced officer, Gacé de Matignon, raised on this occasion to the rank of Maréchal de France. The number of the troops embarked would scarcely exceed 4,000, but Louis had means of obtaining through the Stuart emissaries, an exact account of the English force in Scotland, which at this time consisted only of two regiments of Dragoons wanting their full complement and of the depôts of five battalions of foot making altogether less than 1,700 men.[8] There was therefore every prospect that the French troops on landing would be able to maintain their ground against what may be termed the garrison of the established government, and

[8] In a speech of Lord Haversham founded on the papers laid before a Select Committee the number is stated as only 1,500 (Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 768), but Mr. Burton computes 150 more. (Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 13.)

CHAP. X. 1708.

allow time for the partisans of James to rise. And if even the expedition had not the full success that was desired, it might serve to draw Marlborough and great part of the British forces from Flanders, and thus achieve an all-important diversion for the arms of the French King.

All preparations were made accordingly. James was to set out from St. Germain's on the 7th of March, to be at Dunkirk on the 9th, and to embark on the morning of the 10th. So scrupulously was the secret kept that it was not till the 4th that Madame de Maintenon writing to Princess Orsini had permission to announce it through her to the Court of Spain.[9] But at the very point of departure the young Prince, then less than twenty years of age and not robust in constitution, fell ill of the measles. It was necessary to postpone his journey, and he did not actually embark till the 17th of the month. By that time the alarm had been given. An English fleet commanded by Sir George Byng and threefold stronger than the French came in pursuance of previous orders off the harbour of Dunkirk. Some regiments English and Dutch were summoned over in haste from Flanders. Other of our native troops, such as could at once be mustered—some 7,000 foot and 1,800 horse—were appointed to meet at York, and designed if necessary to march across the Tweed.

On the 17th however the English ships having been driven from their station by high winds, Forbin was able to sail out of Dunkirk harbour with his small Armada. Making for the Firth of Forth they a little overshot the mark and first sighted the land at Montrose. Thence turning southwards to their real destination they anchored at the Isle of May. They made certain signals which had been agreed upon between Colonel Hooke and his Scottish friends, but received no signals

[9] Letter of March 4, 1708, in her published correspondence with "la Princesse des Ursins."

in reply from the shore, showing clearly that the northern Jacobites after all their boasts and promises were not yet prepared. Under such circumstances Forbin felt that he could not venture to land the troops committed to his charge. Nor was there much leisure for deliberation; early next morning the man at the mast-head called out that the English fleet was in view. With but five ships against Byng who had at least sixteen Forbin could hazard an engagement even less than a landing; so without delay he cut his cables and made all sail to the north. One of his ships the Salisbury, a former capture from the English, having ventured too far into the Firth of Forth, was taken in returning with about 400 men; but the rest held on their course, the hindmost being not far pursued and but slightly attacked by Byng.

The Mars was the French Admiral's ship. On board her besides the Chevalier de St. George were some of the principal exiles of his cause from Scotland, the titular Duke of Perth, Lord Middleton, Colonel Hooke, and several more. These gentlemen earnestly advised that a landing might be made in Aberdeenshire. It was the country of the gallant Gordons and the Hays of Errol; and the appearance of the young Prince might work wonders. James himself when consulted joined in their request. He several times entreated Forbin to be put on shore, even if it must be so without the French troops, and although none were to follow him but his domestics. Forbin on the contrary declared that his instructions left him no such latitude, and that they having received no signal nor invitation from their friends on land there was nothing left for them but to return as they came. They had already rounded Buchan Ness when Forbin accordingly gave orders to steer back. Partly by his good seamanship and partly perhaps by his good fortune, he avoided any encounter with the English fleet, and brought back his Armada

CHAP. X. 1708.

safe to Dunkirk harbour on the 7th of April. Thus ingloriously ended an enterprise from which so much had been expected.[1]

The Parliament showed great zeal against it. No sooner was it known and announced than both Houses voted loyal addresses to the Queen and passed two Bills to strengthen Her Majesty's Government. The first Bill empowered Justices of the Peace in any part of Great Britain to summon before them any suspected person and tender to him an oath abjuring the Pretender; a person who declined such oath to be adjudged "a Popish recusant convict." The second Bill was to suspend the Habeas Corpus until the month of October following. Under this last enactment numerous arrests were made; the Duke of Hamilton, the chief amongst them. His Grace was found by the Queen's Messenger in Lancashire on his way south from Scotland, but so cautious and reserved had been his whole conduct to the disaffected, who nevertheless relied on him as leader, that he had nothing now to dread beyond the inconvenience of a short imprisonment.—A third Bill of greater stringency was brought in by General Stanhope seconded by Sir David Dalrymple; it was to discharge the Clans of Scotland from their vassalage to such of their chiefs as should take up arms against the Queen; but this Bill, which might have gone far to avert the events of 1715 and 1745, was it would seem allowed to drop when the invasion itself collapsed. Anne herself showed great resentment at the audacious attempt to dethrone her; and a consequent variation in her style was observed. She had never in any previous Speech mentioned "the Revolution" by that name; now on the contrary the phrase appeared in two of her answers to Addresses.

[1] For the proceedings on board this squadron see especially two narratives, one by M. d'Andrezel who gives many minute particulars, as for instance the precise day "when His Britannic Majesty became very sick," and the other by Marshal Matignon. (Secret History of Hooke, &c. p. 152 and 159, ed. 1760.)

And when on the 1st of April she closed the Session with a Speech from the Throne she willingly gave insertion to a paragraph denouncing "the designs of a Popish Pretender bred up in the principles of the most arbitrary government." Hitherto she had not been so ready to refer to her brother in such terms.

Louis, however much disappointed at the result of the Scottish project, was only the more intent on achieving some successes in the next campaign. He had resolved to concentrate his main forces on his Flemish frontier, and instead of there remaining as of late on the defensive to make a forward movement and recover by surprise the great towns of Brabant. To inspirit the troops he would place at their head his grandson the Duke of Burgundy, a young Prince of no mean ability and heir-apparent to the Crown; while at his side would stand one of the ablest of the Marshals, the Duke de Vendome. But whatever advantages of military ardour might attend this junction were much more than counterbalanced, as will presently be seen, by the evils of divided command. Along the Alps of Piedmont would be stationed Villars to contend against the Duke of Savoy. The Duke of Orleans would be sent back to Spain. Berwick on the other hand would be retained in France to share with the Elector of Bavaria the command upon the Rhine.

On the part of the Allies we may observe in the first place that both Das Minas and Galway were recalled from Catalonia, and in the course of February came back by sea to Portugal. There, Das Minas was permitted to retire into private life, while Galway, by the favor of his friends in England, was still maintained in command. He was left to head the scanty forces remaining on the Spanish frontier in conjunction with another chief appointed by the Court of Lisbon. Stanhope was named in his place to command the British force in Catalonia, retaining at the same time his post as British Minister

CHAP. X. 1708.

at the Court of Charles. It had been found impossible to prevail upon the Emperor to send Prince Eugene to Spain. Instead of that great General who would have ruled the whole, His Majesty appointed Count Guido Staremberg to command the Imperial as Stanhope would the British troops. Count Guido was born in 1657, and trained by the Jesuits for the priesthood, but his destination changing he had entered the army, distinguished himself in the Turkish wars, and in 1704 attained the rank of Field Marshal.[2] Both chiefs—the one from England and the other from Italy—arrived at Barcelona in the course of May, shortly after the decease at a great old age of the General for the Dutch Count Noyelles. Count Belcastel became the successor of Noyelles in that post.

While Eugene was not to be spared for Spain he could as little be employed in Northern Italy. The differences between him and his cousin the Duke of Savoy had risen after the siege of Toulon to such a pitch of hostility that it was impossible for them to serve together in the next campaign. The Duke was therefore left to cope singly with Marshal Villars, receiving from Vienna large promises of reinforcements, but in truth a most scanty supply. The post intended by the Emperor for Eugene was on the Moselle with a new army to be formed in great part by detachments from that recently assigned to the Elector of Hanover upon the Rhine.

The excellent diplomacy of Eugene was at this period almost as requisite for the cause of the Allies as were his talents for war. Not one of the smaller German Princes but had now, since the German reverses of last year, some fresh grievances to allege or some further advantages to claim. Such was the case more especially with the Elector Palatine, the Landgrave of Hesse, and

[2] Geschichte des Hauses Stahremberg, von J. Schwerdling, p. 823, ed. Linz, 1830.

King Augustus as Elector of Saxony. The Elector of Hanover also was vehemently chafing against any diminution of the army which he was expected to command. It might be requisite for Eugene to visit each of these Potentates at their own little Courts before the military operations recommenced. Still more was it essential that he should have a meeting with Marlborough and determine the plan for the new campaign. With this view he repaired to the Hague and impatiently awaited the arrival of his English colleague.

Marlborough on his part was of course detained in England until the prospect of invasion had wholly passed away. Then at once taking his departure he reached the Hague in the first days of April New Style. Acting in the closest concert with Prince Eugene these two great men also called into their counsels their tried friend in Holland, Pensionary Heinsius. It was agreed between them that there should be two plans of campaign, the one ostensible to guard against murmurs and objections and the other real. The ostensible project was that the army on the Scheldt under Marlborough and that on the Moselle under Eugene should cooperate from different sides as though for the invasion of Lorraine. The real project was to unite these two armies by a rapid march and give battle to the French in the Netherlands.

The Deputies of the States being duly consulted on the first of these designs gave it their assent. It was as important, and it seemed more difficult to obtain the concurrence also of the Elector of Hanover. Eugene knew that His Highness already viewed him with great jealousy and would allow but little weight to whatever arguments he might adduce. He warmly pressed that Marlborough should meet him at Hanover and there exert his usual powers of persuasion.

At this very period however a new Court feud had broken forth in London, and in order to allay it Marl-

CHAP. X. 1708.

borough was full as eagerly called back by his consort and his colleagues. Nothing can paint in stronger colours the ascendency of this great man. He could by no means be spared from the Continent whenever there was a Prince to be reclaimed or a battle to be fought, and as little could he be spared from England, if the Ministers required guidance, or if there was a point to carry with the Queen.

Seeing the urgency of the case Marlborough yielded to the entreaties of Eugene. He travelled with all speed, being only twelve days absent from the Hague and remaining but forty-eight hours at Hanover; yet even that short stay proved sufficient for his purpose. As he writes to Godolphin on the 3rd of May having returned to the Hague the night before: "After a very great deal of uneasiness the Elector has consented to the project for three armies; but we have been obliged to leave on the Rhine two Imperial regiments more than we designed: so that Prince Eugene will have 2,000 horse less on the Moselle; and as for the joining the two armies we thought it best not to acquaint the Elector with it, so that I expect when that is put in execution he will be very angry; but since the good of the campaign depends upon it I know no remedy but patience." And the Duke adds upon another subject: "The burgomasters of Amsterdam were above two hours with me this morning to convince me of the necessity of a sudden peace. This, from the most zealous part of the Dutch, has very much alarmed me." Once again at the Hague the Great Duke, instead of thanks for his most successful exertions, received only upbraiding letters from the Duchess and Godolphin, who blamed him for not allotting his spare time to themselves. He had given them some promise of a visit after he should have come back from Hanover, but this was precluded by the calls of the service and the necessity for him to repair to Brussels and collect his army.

Prince Eugene on his part had visited the Elector Palatine at Düsseldorf on his way to Hanover; and from Hanover proceeded to the Court of King Augustus at Dresden. To these two Princes as also to the Landgrave of Hesse he was able to hold out assurances that the Emperor had complied with most of their demands, and thus could he retain them within the pale of the Grand Alliance.

From Dresden Eugene returned for a brief space to Vienna to give the Emperor in person an account of his recent conferences and to quicken the preparations for the coming campaign. Thence he hastened to put himself at the head of the force not as yet fully formed on the Moselle. Marlborough meanwhile from his headquarters at Brussels wrote as follows to Godolphin on the 14th of May: "The great want of rain (and consequent want of forage) will oblige me to put off the assembling of the army till the 21st of this month."— And again on the 24th: "To-morrow I shall march towards Hal, where we shall join the English and the rest of the troops which came from Flanders. You know already my intention of gaining time till Prince Eugene can act with his army, which I am afraid cannot be till about the middle of next month."

Vendome on his part had been reinforced, according to the resolution taken at Versailles, by considerable detachments from the other French armies; and he was joined not only by the Duke of Burgundy and his brother the Duke of Berri but also by the Chevalier de St. George. That young Prince had a natural desire for military distinction, but from that wish committed the great error of drawing his sword against his countrymen where his own cause was not concerned. Having mustered their army at Mons, Vendome and his Princes marched forward and took up an advanced position at Braine-la-Leud. Marlborough foresaw that a general action might ensue, and sent an express with all speed

CHAP. X. 1708.

to Eugene, whose forces, from the slow forms at Vienna, were still lagging in the rear. The Duke exhorted the Prince if he could not yet bring up his foot to press onward with his cavalry and to join him without delay.

The advance to Braine-la-Leud, being to the right of Marlborough's army, seemed to threaten either Brussels or Louvain. But such was not the real design of the enemy. In their further course they relied on the popular aversion to the Provisional Government. That Government of foreigners, as established by the Dutch after the conquest of Brabant, to endure while their own Barrier was depending, had run counter to all the prepossessions religious and political of the native race. Vendome knew that he could in consequence depend upon their sympathy, nay more, on their cooperation. Already in the month of May there had been a plot to betray Antwerp to the French, a plot which only the vigilance of Marlborough had in good time detected. Now, at day-break of the 5th of July, a detachment of French having marched all night suddenly appeared before Ghent; and the foremost men representing themselves as deserters obtained by that stratagem possession of the gate. Then the main body of the French rushed in, and obtaining the aid of the citizens they made themselves masters of the city, after which they surrounded the garrison of only 300 men in the citadel and compelled it to lay down its arms in two days. Six hours after the surprise of Ghent another French division came beneath the walls of Bruges, which surrendered almost on the first summons. Thus easily were the two chief cities of Brabant recovered by the French. Other like losses might well be feared. As Marlborough wrote: "The States have used this country so ill that I no ways doubt but all the towns will play us the same trick as Ghent has done whenever they have it in their power."

So far successful in their objects the French proceeded to carry out the entire scheme which they had formed

by investing Oudenarde. This fortress, built on the left bank of the Scheldt and in a strong position, would be of great importance to them in securing their recent conquests and would form the connecting link between the French frontier and Brabant. For that very reason the news of this siege, which was commenced on the 9th of July, spread the greatest alarm among the Dutch and Imperial authorities, and even in the midst of Marlborough's army at the quarters of Marshal Overkirk, the Dutch commander.

Marlborough as ever with quick intuition saw that both on military and political grounds he must at all hazards strike a blow for the relief of Oudenarde. His army was inferior in numbers to the French. It was computed at the beginning of the campaign as of 112 battalions and 180 squadrons, while Vendome had 124 of the first and 197 of the last, making altogether, it was roughly reckoned, almost 100,000 men. Nor could Marlborough expect timely aid from the Emperor's side. As he had written to Godolphin more than a month before: "I would not willingly blame Prince Eugene, but his arrival at the Moselle will be ten days after his promise." The delay in fact proved to be of many more days than ten. But it was no fault of that gallant Prince. So far from partaking in the slowness of the Court which he served he was at this very time pressing forward from the Moselle with his cavalry only; and on hearing when he came to Maestricht of the French advance he outstripped even his horsemen, and scarcely rested until he reached Marlborough's quarters. The two friends embraced with their wonted cordiality, and that entire elevation above all petty jealousies, which in long subsequent years distinguished on a like occasion Wellington and Blücher, as it now did Marlborough and Eugene.—Marlborough had also been joined by the Electoral Prince of Hanover, the future George the Second. "It would have been more natural for him" writes the

CHAP. X. 1708.

Duke "to have served with his father, but I suppose they have a mind he should make acquaintance with the English officers."

For the investment of Oudenarde the French had hitherto employed only one division of 16,000 men. They designed to cover the siege by occupying with their principal forces the strong post of Lessines upon the Dender. Here however they were anticipated by the promptitude of Marlborough. He sent forward a large detachment under General Cadogan to march by night and to seize upon Lessines, and he followed with his entire army the next day. By this bold and unexpected movement the enemy found Marlborough interposed between them and their frontier. They relinquished the investment of Oudenarde and fell back to Gavre lower down the Scheldt.

The object of Marlborough was now by another bold march to reach the Scheldt opposite Oudenarde—to effect his passage before the French could return to oppose him—and to give them battle on the left bank as they came. Eugene when consulted had warmly approved the scheme, and expressed his joy that he had arrived in time to take part in the coming conflict. "My troops" said Marlborough very modestly "will be animated by the presence of so distinguished a commander."

In pursuance of these resolutions the English army was in movement soon after dawn on the memorable 11th of July, Cadogan as before leading the vanguard. Reaching the Scheldt after a toilsome march of fifteen miles, Cadogan began to construct bridges of pontoons which were completed soon after midday, and then the whole English army passed. The French were on the left bank already, their bridges at Gavre having been by previous orders made ready for them before they reached the river. They had a good defensive position a little to the north of Oudenarde, protected by some swelling

uplands, which in that part of the country are called "Couters." One of these, the Bosen Couter, was especially strong.

It might well seem rashness in the English General to assail a gallant army thus advantageously posted with soldiers much inferior in number, and wearied by fifteen miles of march. But Marlborough, who had so often suffered from the evils of divided command and jarring counsels, was now to reap the benefit of these when displayed in the ranks of his opponents. The Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Vendome were not only competing in authority but opposite in character. Take first His Royal Highness. A devout Catholic, with a due horror of Protestants and Jansenists as became a grandson of Louis the Fourteenth, with many accomplishments and many virtues as became a pupil of Fenelon, he was however shy, reserved, and inexperienced. Vendome on the other hand was a scoffer at religion and notorious for abominable vices. His countrymen, the most polished people in the world, might stare at his filthy person and neglected dress; they might smart under his roughness nay sometimes brutality of language; they might condemn those sluggish habits from which he only roused himself on some great occasion; but they were compelled to acknowledge his great genius and energy in war.

In this army Monseigneur the Royal Duke held the supreme command as his rank seemed to require. It was intended at Versailles that he should mainly rely upon Vendome. But from personal alienation the young Prince was disposed to trust other and less able advisers, as M. de Puységur. The result was a fatal confusion of orders in the battle which ensued. Once for example when Vendome had commanded the brigades of Picardy and Piedmont to charge across a small intervening plain the Duke of Burgundy as chief bade them halt, saying that he knew that plain to be impassable. "Your

X.
1708.

Majesty" says Vendome in his report to the King "will be so good as to observe that this plain which was called impassable was passed by the enemy without hindrance, and had not upon it either a thicket or a ditch.[3]

"But here I am anticipating. Should I not sooner have said that the battle was commenced towards three in the afternoon? Should I not have related how at the outset Marlborough seeing two of the French brigades in advance sent against them De Rantzau with eight squadrons of Hanoverians and Cadogan with twelve squadrons of English? Should I leave untold how in the gallant charge which ensued the Prince of Hanover bore his part bravely and had a horse shot under him? By degrees as the troops came up the battle grew general. Marlborough and Eugene remained for a while together; then separating the Prince received from his friend in compliment the command of the right wing which was strengthened to almost sixty battalions and comprised the British troops. The Duke retained under his own direction no more than twenty battalions, some Dutch, some Hanoverian, and some Prussian. Thus advancing they pressed the enemy from different sides and carried the scene of conflict to the uneven ground where the cavalry could not engage. At one point it seemed to Marlborough that the right of the French might be turned and cut off from their main body; and he entrusted the execution of this bold manœuvre to the veteran Marshal Overkirk who had brought up the rear with twenty battalions of Dutch and Danes. Overkirk, though weighed down by years and for some months past in languishing health, showed all the spirit of a young man in the discharge of so welcome a duty.

During several hours the battle though most irregularly fought was well sustained. But when the shades of that summer evening deepened, victory had

[3] Mémoires militaires de la Succession d'Espagne, vol. viii. p. 390.

everywhere declared for the Allies. The French chiefs, after a fruitless consultation in which Vendome alone maintained that the battle might be renewed in the morning, gave orders for retreat in the direction of Ghent. Several detachments however and large parties not being duly apprised or missing their way in the darkness were surrounded and brought in as prisoners by thousands the next day. The loss of the Allied army was about 3,000 in killed and wounded. That of the enemy has been sometimes stated as no larger though more probably twofold. According to Marlborough's report "we have taken 95 colours and standards besides three the Prussians keep to send to their King."[4]

There are several letters from Marlborough on the morrow of his victory. Thus to Godolphin: "I must ever acknowledge the goodness of God in the success He was pleased to give us, for I believe Lord Stair will tell you they were in as strong a post as is possible to be found; but you know when I left England I was positively resolved to endeavour by all means a battle, thinking nothing else would make the Queen's business go on well." With this public motive in the Duke's mind another more domestic might not unworthily mingle. For on the 4th of May he had written to Sunderland as follows: "For my own part I shall endeavour to do my duty this campaign, after which I should be glad to see my place well filled, and that for the remaining part of my life I might have a little quiet and be sometimes with my children."

A few days after the battle the troops of Prince Eugene some twenty-five or thirty thousand strong came up from the Moselle. On the other hand Marshal Berwick had been observing and following them with

[4] To the Lord Treasurer, July 26, 1708. It is therefore surprising to find it stated in General Pelet's able compendium, "Nous ne perdîmes ni artillerie, ni drapeaux, ni étendards, ni bagages, et nous prîmes aux ennemis un drapeau." (Mémoires militaires, vol. viii. p. 38.)

CHAP. X. 1708.

the best part of his army from Alsace, so that the relative force of the contending parties was but little changed. It was now for Marlborough and Eugene to consider what steps consequent upon their victory they should next take. Marlborough formed the scheme of masking Lille and other fortresses on the frontier and marching with his main army past them into the heart of France. It need scarcely be shown how much this idea was in advance of the military notions of his age, and how, although conceived by the genius of Marlborough, it was left to be carried out a century afterwards by other Allies combined against another monarch of the French.

In 1708 at all events the scheme was thought too bold. Godolphin fully concurred in it, but as Marlborough writes to him in reply, "I have acquainted Prince Eugene with the earnest desire we have for our marching into France. He thinks it impracticable till we have Lille for a PLACE D'ARMES and a magazine." Far less could the Great Duke prevail with the Dutch chiefs. "I have spoke of it" he says "to nobody but the Prince, for by several observations I have of late made of the Deputies of our army I am afraid the States would not be for this expedition nor any thing else where there is a venture." It was therefore necessary for Marlborough to confine himself to the humbler task of besieging Lille, and even this was deemed to be an enterprise of extraordinary daring.

The city of Lille was one of the earliest conquests of Louis the Fourteenth. Since that time Vauban himself had been employed in strengthening the fortifications, adding to them also a new citadel, until they became one of the master-pieces of his skill. At the first thought of any danger from the arms of the Allies Marshal Boufflers who held the rank of Governor hastened to his post and gathered round him a garrison which by divers reinforcements rose to nearly 15,000 men. Beyond his walls there were French armies amounting

at the very least to 100,000 men, all excellent troops, and with able chiefs ready it was supposed to discover and to profit by any even the slightest error of Marlborough and Eugene.

There were other and most serious obstacles. So long as the French retained possession of Ghent they could command the course of both the Scheldt and the Lys, and entirely prevent the conveyance by water of the cannon and provision required for the siege of Lille. To transport these by land would call for vast exertion and expose them to considerable risk. Still Marlborough persevered. "We have ordered" he writes "twenty battering pieces to be brought from Maestricht; and we have taken measures for sixty more to be brought from Holland. The calculation of the number of draught horses to draw this artillery amounts to sixteen thousand, by which you will see the difficulties we meet with . . .; but we must overcome them or we shall have very little fruit of our victory."

To assail the huge convoy which was gradually prepared at Brussels and amounted to 94 pieces of artillery with 3,000 ammunition waggons, or on the other hand to forward and protect it, was now the aim of the opposite chiefs. Vendome sent out from Ghent a division of 18,000 men, and Berwick advanced with part of his army to Mortagne, each in the hope during its slow progress to profit by some vulnerable point. But the precautions of Marlborough and Eugene proved too good. The unwieldy mass was conveyed in perfect safety from Brussels to Ath, and thence to the ground before Lille, where Eugene was enabled to open the trenches on the night of the 22nd of August. It was agreed that Marlborough, who had recently encamped first at Werwick, then at Helchin, should command the covering army, while the operations of the siege should be directed by Eugene.

CHAP. X. 1708.

The siege of Lille now commencing raised extraordinary interest in Europe. Men of high rank or high renown, present or to come, hastened to attend it. King Augustus late of Poland and the Landgrave of Hesse appeared in Marlborough's camp as volunteers. There came Maurice of Saxony, then a boy of twelve, who in his eagerness had escaped on foot from his tutors at Dresden, but destined to be in after years the victorious leader of French armies. There came Schwerin and Munnich, both subsequently Field Marshals of much fame, the one preceptor in arms of Frederick the Great, the other, rival of Biren in the sway of Russia. It was known that Marlborough and Eugene would make the most strenuous exertions for the reduction of the place. It was known that Louis the Fourteenth had set his whole heart on its relief.

As the first step to this latter course the French armies now combined. The Dukes of Burgundy and Vendome, leaving a corps of 20,000 men for the protection of Ghent, marched from it to the Dender at Lessines, where Berwick had advanced to meet them, and where accordingly on the 30th of August the junction was effected. Then returning within their own frontier they moved against the besiegers' lines before Lille with the intention of hazarding a battle as Louis had enjoined. But far from that cordial union which so constantly prevailed between Marlborough and Eugene, the three French chiefs were hopelessly at variance. Whatever one suggested was certain to be bitterly opposed by the other two. Thus they could not come to any clear decision as to either the time or the place for an attack. It was in vain that Louis renewed his orders. It was in vain that Chamillart posted down from Versailles to inspect the ground and to reconcile the Generals. By these delays Eugene had been enabled to intrench his position so strongly that the French chiefs could discern no opening to assail it. With bitter mortifica-

tion they found themselves reduced to be only spectators of the siege.

1708. During this time De Boufflers as chief within the walls had displayed admirable skill and spirit, infusing his own zeal into the troops, nay even into the townsmen, over whom he held sway, disputing every inch of ground, repelling attacks, repairing breaches, making frequent and courageous sallies. The besiegers while sustaining heavy losses gained but little ground, and the Deputies advised that the enterprise should be relinquished. On one occasion Eugene himself was wounded in the head; and Marlborough found it necessary for some days to perform a double duty: the command of his own army, and the superintendence of the siege. Towards this period also the Allies lost one of their most honoured chiefs by the death of Marshal Overkirk, whose health had sunk under the labours of this campaign.

At this juncture, since the enemy contrived to debar all water carriage and had recently cut off the land communication with Brussels, the Allied army could only obtain its supplies slowly and with risk by way of Ostend. Here at least the French commanders hoped to strike a blow. They formed a design against the largest and most important of these convoys. They stationed Count de La Mothe at Bruges with a strong division and with orders to dart forward against the train of waggons as soon as it drew near. On the other hand Marlborough had sent General Webb and a body of foot for its protection.

On the 27th of September the large convoy thus attended set out from Ostend. Next day it was sharply attacked by La Mothe at the wood of Wynendale. The French troops were far more numerous than the English but may have lost something of their spirit by their enforced inaction before Lille. They were on all points repulsed by General Webb, supported towards the close

CHAP. X. 1708.

of the action by General Cadogan who came up with some squadrons of horse; and the convoy on which so much depended pursued its progress without further hindrance. As Marlborough's letter states it: "Webb and Cadogan have on this occasion, as they always will do, behaved themselves extremely well. The success of this vigorous action is in a great measure owing to them. If they had not succeeded and our convoy had been lost, the consequence must have been the raising of the siege the next day."

Since the reverse of the French arms at Wynendale the Allies made more rapid progress at Lille. The breaching batteries were augmented, and poured in an almost incessant fire of artillery. At length on the 22nd of October, after sixty days of open trenches, Boufflers beat a parley. From respect to his most gallant defence Eugene allowed him to dictate his own terms. He was allowed to withdraw into the citadel which he determined to maintain with the rest of his garrison now reduced to 5,000 effective men, while his sick and wounded were to be conveyed beyond the French lines to Douay. Thus the Allies became masters of the city and proceeded without delay to invest the citadel.

But while the siege of the citadel was thus depending peril to the Allies arose in another quarter. The Elector of Bavaria, who had been called from his station on the Rhine, thought the opportunity auspicious for a COUP DE MAIN on Brussels where there was a strong party to befriend him. Suddenly marching from Mons at the head of 15,000 men he appeared before the gates of Brussels and summoned the city, sending in also emissaries to stir up a revolt; but he could not induce either the garrison to surrender or the inhabitants to rise. He was therefore obliged to begin a siege in regular form and leave leisure to Marlborough and Eugene to concert their measures. By a well-timed surprise they forced the passage of the Scheldt near Oudenarde, and

Marlborough then marching full on Brussels compelled the Elector to raise the siege with much precipitation, and to hurry back to the French frontier. Then Marlborough also retraced his steps to his camp near Lille and took part in the capitulation of the citadel, which after prodigies of skill and valour on the part of Boufflers ensued of necessity on the 9th of December. Sooner than lose even another day at this late season they granted to the Marshal the most advantageous conditions. He marched forth with all the honours of war at the head of his faithful soldiers, and was with them escorted to his countrymen at Douay. Thence proceeding to Versailles he was greeted by the King as his admirable defence so well deserved, with the warmest thanks and also with the highest rewards. 1708.

It was now almost the middle of December and the campaign might be thought concluded. But Marlborough and Eugene were determined to allow themselves or their troops no rest until after Ghent and Bruges had been recovered. Not an hour was lost in the requisite movements. Ghent was invested by Marlborough's army on the 18th of the month; and on the 24th the trenches against it were opened under his direction by the Prussian chief Count Lottum. La Mothe who commanded in the place was not able to emulate the example of Boufflers. With no effort beyond a single sally he sent out a trumpet on the 30th to demand an honourable capitulation, which Marlborough granted to spare his soldiers who were already suffering from the frosts. In writing to Godolphin the Duke could announce a still further and final success. "As soon as the French knew I had possession of the gate of this town, they took the resolution of abandoning Bruges. This campaign is now ended to my own heart's desire; and as the hand of the Almighty is visible in this whole matter, I hope Her Majesty will think it due to Him to return public thanks, and at

CHAP. X.

the same time to implore His blessing on the next campaign."

1708. During this year there was nothing of importance achieved upon the Rhine. The Elector of Hanover after much procrastination had taken the command of the army assigned him, but it was only to utter complaints and show his jealousy of Prince Eugene. Thinking his dignity offended he declined to make any offensive movement, although the detachment of so many bodies of French troops to Flanders, and the departure first of Berwick and next of his brother Elector might well have tempted an advance.

It was much the same in Italy. The Duke of Savoy had been joined by the Austrian General, Count Daun, but still confined himself to a war of outposts with Marshal Villars; and his main exploit during the campaign was the reduction of the small fort of Exiles.

In Catalonia the nuptials of the King seemed the all-absorbing event. Charles had in the spring of this year married by proxy at Vienna a Princess of Brunswick, who changed her religion for the sake of Royalty. In the month of July following the new Queen landed at Madrid, and Charles desiring, as we are told, to see her for the first time incognito was admitted among other gentlemen to kiss her hand. After this he discovered himself to his consort, and then as the annalist assures us "many compliments passed." [5]

Meanwhile the war around him languished. The Court of Vienna had indeed, tardily complying with Marlborough's urgent representations, sent a few thousand additional men to Barcelona. Still however the Duke of Orleans headed a force far superior to any Staremberg and Stanhope could bring against him, so that these were reduced to a strictly defensive system. They could not hinder the investment and reduction by the Duke of the important town of Tortosa, but they

[5] Complete History of Europe, 1708, p. 184 and 247.

so far obstructed and delayed him that this proved to be his only exploit during the campaign. In the Spanish seas the Allies had better fortune. Admiral Sir John Leake having come to Barcelona with a British squadron, planned with Staremberg and Stanhope an expedition to Sardinia. There was no resistance to be apprehended. The Marquis of Jamaica who commanded in the island for King Philip had scarcely even a handful of troops, while the people were disposed to make common cause with their Catalan neighbours. No sooner then had the Admiral appeared off Cagliari and thrown a few bombs into the town, than the inhabitants compelled the Governor to lay down his arms and surrender at discretion while the whole island declared in favor of King Charles.

But Stanhope's great object was Minorca. Its harbour Port Mahon was the best in the Mediterranean, and even in the most stormy winters would afford secure anchorage to any British fleet. For this reason its importance in the contest for the Crown of Spain was from the first well understood both by friend and foe. Lord Peterborough had at one time resolved to attempt it, but was withheld by the strong objections of the naval officers. The project though acknowledged to be arduous was now resumed, and earnestly pressed upon Stanhope both by Marlborough in private letters and by Sunderland in public despatches. There were however great obstacles to overcome. The entrance to Mahon was defended by a fortress of considerable strength named St. Philip's Castle, which Louis had not left to the negligent administration of the Spaniards, but on the contrary had caused to be carefully repaired. He had stationed there a garrison of about 1,100 men, half French and half Spanish ; at their head Colonel La Jonquière, a Frenchman and an experienced officer.

Stanhope was further pressed upon this subject by letters from the Lord Treasurer, whose notions of the

CHAP. X. 1708.

war in Spain were certainly a little wild: "In my last I was very pressing with you on the importance of getting Toulon, and I still insist that we cannot winter a squadron in the Mediterranean without having Port Maon" (for so he spells it) "or that place. But I look upon being masters of Toulon as being masters of Madrid, for one is the infallible consequence of the other." Stanhope when thus exhorted from home was at the camp of Cervera, but at once taking his resolution hastened back to Barcelona to attempt Mahon. It was with great difficulty that he could prevail on Staremberg to spare him about 700 Spaniards and as many Portuguese. It was only by a stratagem that he could induce some of the sea-captains to assist him. Using however great exertions he was able on the 14th of September to effect a landing in Minorca with a battering train of forty-two great guns and a force of 2,600 men nearly one-half of whom were English, including the marines from the fleet who served on shore.

Twelve days were required for the toilsome transport of no more than two miles, but through a most rugged country, before the cannon could be brought to bear, or St. Philip's Castle be invested. The strength of the works was found to be fully equal to their reputation; it was only the spirit of the Governor that had been falsely estimated. On the 28th however the besiegers' cannon made several breaches in the new line wall; and some of their grenadiers rushing in pell-mell were promptly supported by Brigadier Wade and two battalions; then Stanhope coming up and driving the enemy from the two flank towers pursued his advantage, and made good a lodgment before night on the glacis of the main castle. Next day he disposed his men for another onset, but at the first ball that fell the heart of La Jonquière failed him. Contrary to the advice of several of his officers he beat a parley and proposed a capitulation, which was concluded the same

afternoon. When on the 30th the English marched into the fortress they found it to contain above a hundred pieces of cannon, three thousand barrels of powder, and all other supplies that La Jonquière could have needed had he resolved to continue his defence.

There were two other walled towns on the opposite coasts of the island, Fornells and Ciudadella, but they were of no strength and immediately surrendered. The entire conquest cost the Allies less than fifty men, among whom was the General's brother, Captain Philip Stanhope, of the Milford, an officer of much promise who was serving on shore with his marines. The French soldiers of the garrison were kept prisoners as hostages for the English and Dutch of about equal number taken in Xativa and detained by Asfeld in defiance of their terms of capitulation; but La Jonquière and the other officers were permitted to return to France. La Jonquière had little cause to congratulate himself on this exception. No sooner had he landed at Toulon than he was brought to trial for his misconduct in the siege, found guilty, and not merely dismissed the service but sent to prison.[6]

So strongly impressed was Stanhope with the great importance of Minorca as a station for the British fleet that, on the very day after the capitulation of St. Philip's, when writing his despatch to Sunderland with an account of his conquest, he presumed to "offer it as my humble opinion that England ought never to part with this island, which will give the law to the Mediterranean both in time of war and peace." And thus again on the 9th of November: "Whether we have war or peace I cannot but hope we shall think of preserving Port Mahon and indeed the whole island." Sunderland and the other Ministers adhered to Stanhope's counsel, and sent him the authority he asked to negotiate with

[6] Mém. de St. Simon, vol. vii. p. 4. The strength of St. Philip's Castle is fully described in Armstrong's History of Minorca, p. 23, ed. 1752, the author himself an engineer.

CHAP. X. 1708.

Charles's Ministers for the eventual cession of the island. He had certainly a strong plea to urge in behalf of such a grant from the large subsidies which the Court of St. James's had paid and was still paying to the Court of Barcelona. Nevertheless Stanhope was met, as he says, by "an unspeakable reluctancy." It was only after some months of diplomacy that he succeeded in sending home Mr. Craggs with powers from King Charles to the Austrian Count Gallas to sign a treaty for engaging on certain conditions the island to the Queen. Such were the first steps to its absolute cession at the Peace of Utrecht and to our sovereign possession of it during the greater part of the eighteenth century. Mahon was not forgotten when, ten years after its conquest, Stanhope was promoted to an Earldom; and we may reckon it as among the curious vicissitudes of human affairs, that the name first given by a Carthaginian chief Mago, the brother of Hannibal, should now be borne by the eldest son of an English Peer.

Having remained some days in Minorca to settle the government of the island Stanhope designed to proceed to Denia and secure that fortress from attack. But his way was barred by some French men-of-war which cruised along the coast; and Denia shortly afterwards yielded to the Chevalier d'Asfeld, Captain Carleton being among the prisoners of that little garrison. Asfeld next turned his arms against Alicant and reduced the town with little difficulty; but the castle, which was held by two English regiments, was long and valiantly defended.

Soon after Stanhope's return to Catalonia from his Minorquin enterprise he was greeted by a singular negotiation. The Duke of Orleans employed two agents, named Flotte and Renault, to make some secret overtures to the English General with whom during his youth he had been on familiar terms. The object was to inquire whether, as weary of the war, the French

might not relinquish their King Philip and the Allies their King Charles, and whether then by way of compromise the Duke of Orleans might not be accepted by both parties as monarch of Spain. Stanhope at once declared that England would not break faith with her ally nor desert King Charles, but he proceeded with the assent of the Cabinet at home to hold out some hopes to the Duke that, if there were another rising in the Cevennes with the Duke's connivance the Allies would be inclined to form for him an independent sovereignty made up of Languedoc and Navarre.

It is by no means clear even yet, after so many secret documents of the period have come to light, how far the first of these overtures was made with the private sanction of Louis. As to the second, if ever the Duke did lend an ear to it, we may fairly conclude that he intended only by prolonging the negotiation to bring back the Allies to the first. But Princess Orsini, who at this time entirely directed Philip and Philip's kingdom through his Queen, obtained some clue to the intrigue, and took her measures accordingly. In the winter, after the Duke had returned to France, she caused both his agents to be seized. Their papers when examined gave at least sufficient grounds for injurious imputations on their master and vehement complaints from the Court of Madrid to the Court of Versailles. Louis after some hesitation did his best to vindicate his nephew, but felt that it was impossible to send him back to Spain.[7]

[7] An impartial summary of this involved transaction, as deduced from different sources, will be found in Sismondi. (Hist. des Français, vol. xxvii. p. 67.)

CHAPTER XI.

CHAP. XI. 1708.

THE Parliament which had been prorogued on the 1st of April was dissolved on the 15th. In the English elections which ensued the influence of the late attempt on Scotland was strongly felt, and that influence was almost everywhere to the advantage of the Court. For even among those who inclined more or less decidedly to the exiled Prince by far the greater number at this time looked to the succession of the Queen and not to her dethronement. To plunge the kingdom in civil war for this latter object and by the aid of a foreign enemy was generally viewed as a criminal and unjustifiable enterprise; and its abettors real or supposed found no favour at the hustings.

But Godolphin as Prime Minister had at this time other and deep causes of alarm. The dismissal of Harley with St. John and Mansell in his train had by no means sufficed to the ambition of the Whigs. They regarded it as only another step in the ladder which they sought to climb. No sooner was it accomplished than they came forward with a new demand—that the Presidency of the Council should be bestowed on Somers. Godolphin himself was willing but the Queen was much distressed. Besides that she entertained at that time—however unjustly yet sincerely—an ill-opinion of Lord Somers from his conduct during the late reign, she knew that his appointment would give great pain to her Consort, who regarded Somers as the real author of the recent attacks upon the Admiralty measures. At first then the Queen evaded the request, declaring that she did not wish to see Lord Pembroke removed. But this

plea did not long avail her. Two Whigs already in office, the Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, came one day to her without previous notice and again pressed the appointment of Lord Somers. The Queen again alleged the hardship to Lord Pembroke. Then, at least, said the Dukes, let your Majesty call Lord Somers for the present to the Cabinet Council without any post at all. Taken by surprise the Queen replied after some delay that she thought the Cabinet Council was full enough already. The Dukes took their leave in great discontent, and proceeded to terrify Godolphin, who on his part urged new representations on the Royal Lady.

Thus pressed from divers quarters Anne thought that her prejudices—or as she would say her principles—might claim some regard from the earliest and most constant object of her favour—the Duke of Marlborough. She wrote to His Grace, then just returned from Hanover, to Holland, and gave him an account of what had passed, "looking upon it," she adds, "to be utter destruction to me to bring Lord Somers into my service. And I hope you will not join in soliciting me to do this thing, though Lord Treasurer tells me you will, for it is what I can never consent to. You are very happy to be out of the disagreeable and vexatious things that I am more or less continually made uneasy with, which makes me not wonder at your not coming back as you promised. I pray God bless and direct you in every thing." Marlborough in his answer made it clear that he was firmly linked with Godolphin and must press quite as ardently this concession to the Whigs. But still the Queen refused to yield. "So perverse and so obstinate ——," her Prime Minister writes.

The Whig chiefs, much incensed at the inability of Godolphin which they mistook for unwillingness, planned a bold manœuvre in sign of their resentment.

CHAP. XI. 1708.

The Election of the sixteen Scottish Peers at Holyrood, the last of all the elections in order of time, was still to come. It might be possible by a sudden COUP DE MAIN to defeat the candidates brought forward by the Court. But for this purpose the Whigs by themselves were not sufficiently strong; they must combine with some leading Tories, nay even Jacobites of Scotland. A fitting instrument for this design appeared in the Duke of Hamilton. He was now, as we have seen, a prisoner in the Tower as strongly suspected of dealings with the exiled family. Three great Whig noblemen, Newcastle, Halifax, and Wharton, now declared to the Government their conviction of his innocence and their readiness to be his bail; and on their bail accordingly the Government consented to release him. The Duke at once set out for Edinburgh well provided with secret instructions from his new allies. It is not at all to the credit of Sunderland, that although one of the Cabinet Ministers he appears to have been a party to this whole intrigue.

By the time, however, that the Duke of Hamilton arrived in Edinburgh and concerted measures with his friends, another Duke—His Grace of Queensberry, as Secretary of State for Scotland—had obtained some clue to the design, and was able so far to counteract it that it only in part succeeded. Of the candidates favoured by the Whigs and Tories in alliance, no more than six were elected; the other ten were supplied from the Court list.

This party entanglement in Scotland was the more perplexing to the Ministers since that country then afforded so many other elements of strife. A great ferment had of course prevailed among the people while invasion was in prospect, and it continued long after all idea of invasion passed away. The Government on the suspension of the Habeas Corpus had made numerous arrests. Edinburgh Castle was crowded with prisoners, who were sent off to London in three detachments, each guarded by a body of

dragoons. They comprised some of the men of most mark in the country, as for example the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Errol, Seaforth, and Nithisdale, Cameron of Lochiel, and Stirling of Keir.[1] Nearly all were, it may be said, more than suspected of secret dealings with the Court of St. Germain's.

It was certainly most justifiable in the English Ministers, after their recent and great alarm, to seize these well known adversaries, and seek for proofs to convict them of their treason. But there was one case for which no such defence can be pleaded, the arrest of Lord Belhaven. We have seen how bold and how able was the part which he took against the Scottish Union. He stood forth on that occasion as the uncompromising opponent of the Ministers. But it required such tremulous nerves as Lord Godolphin's to suppose him on that account a plotter against the throne. Neither in this reign nor in the preceding had he ever swerved from his loyalty to the Sovereign or his zeal for the Hanover Succession. To cast him into prison as though a Jacobite conspirator was a wanton insult to the old adversary of Dundee, the soldier of Killiecrankie; and he felt it deeply. His confinement was not indeed long protracted, since, after two months, being brought up to London he was recognised as innocent and released on bail. But the insult had preyed on his ardent spirit, while his burly frame had suffered from the want of exercise. On the very day of his release he was seized with a brain fever, and in four days more expired. He was but fifty-one years of age.[2]

As regards the other prisoners it was found that no overt act could be brought home to them, and that their

[1] The entire list (upwards of forty in all) is given in Tindal's History, vol. iv. p. 554.

[2] A good sketch of Lord Belhaven's life and character will be found in the Complete History of Europe, 1708, p. 436–445.

CHAP. XI. 1708.

confinement must be terminated as soon as the Habeas Corpus Act revived. Under these circumstances, and after some delay, nearly all were admitted to bail. Only Stirling of Keir, Seton of Touch, and a few other gentlemen of Stirlingshire, were put on trial for High Treason. It was shown that they had assembled in arms towards the time of the expected landing; but still their purpose was not manifest, and the Jury returned a verdict of "Not Proven."[3]

Besides these prisoners there were others taken on board the Salisbury, and sent like the rest from Scotland to London. They comprised Lord Griffin, Colonel Francis Wauchope, and two sons of the Earl of Middleton. Lord Griffin had already been attainted by outlawry for High Treason during the last reign; and sentence of death was now in due form passed upon him. But it was not thought desirable to inflict that extreme penalty on a man already advanced in years and of high personal character. He was not expressly pardoned, but he received a respite, which was continued from month to month until he died a natural death in the Tower about two years afterwards.

This clemency however gave great offence to the Whig chiefs. Incensed as they grew more and more at the continued non-acceptance of Somers, they looked on all Ministerial measures with jaundiced eyes. We find Sunderland in a confidential letter at this period inveigh bitterly against what he calls "the villainous management of Scotland, and in particular the pardoning Lord Griffin." And he adds: "These are such proceedings that if there is not a just spirit shown in Parliament we had as good give up the game and submit to my Lord Treasurer and Lord Marlborough's bringing in the Prince of Wales."[4]

[3] State Trials, vol. xiv. p. 1395.

[4] Earl of Sunderland to the Duke of Newcastle, Aug. 1708. This document which was first published in the Second Series of Original Letters by Sir Henry Ellis, has been appended as a note to the later editions of Burnet (vol. v. p. 351).

The accusation comprised in the last few lines may well astonish the reader who bears in mind the twofold relation in which the accuser stood to the accused. Sunderland was not merely the son-in-law of Marlborough but also his Cabinet colleague. Was there then the least shadow of ground for the suspicions which he had formed? Certainly not, if he intended to imply any design against the reign of Anne. But as regards the state of things after her decease it seems likely, considering the past connection of both Marlborough and Godolphin with the Court of St. Germain's, that they may have regarded the succession of her brother as a chance not wholly unwelcome. There was a singular conversation of Marlborough which took place about a month before this letter, but of which it is scarcely possible that Sunderland can have had any knowledge. Lieutenant General de Biron, subsequently a Marshal of France, was among the prisoners of Oudenarde. On the day after the battle the Duke with his invariable courtesy to captives invited him to dinner. When thus at table Marlborough suddenly turned to him and asked him news of the Prince of Wales as serving with Vendome; and added his apologies for giving that Prince no higher title. "We shall not quarrel upon that" said Biron in great surprise, "for even in our army he is called only the Chevalier de St. George;" and he then proceeded to speak of James in the highest terms of praise. The Duke listened to him very attentively and answered, "You give me great pleasure by telling me so much good of him, for I cannot help feeling a great interest in that young Prince;" and having said so much he began at once to talk of something else. Biron went back to Paris on his parole a few days afterwards and repeated this conversation in confidence to his friend the Duke de St. Simon.[5]

The Whig chiefs with unabated perseverance were

[5] Mém. de St. Simon, vol. vi. p. 262.

CHAP. XI. 1708.

still pursuing their favourite object of Somers. Their next step was to threaten the Queen, that if she did not yield upon this point they would, as soon as Parliament met, bring up again the question of inviting to England by an Address some member of the House of Hanover; and to propose this time, not the Dowager Electress but her grandson the Electoral Prince, who as young and active would be able to cause Her Majesty much greater uneasiness. Anne was much distressed. She had a conversation upon this threat with Lord Haversham. "I told him" she says "if this matter should be brought into Parliament, whoever proposed it, whether Whig or Tory, I should look upon neither of them as my friends; nor would ever make any invitation neither to the young man, nor his father nor his grandmother . . . it being a thing I cannot bear to have any successor here though but for a week." [6]

But Anne, however harassed, was still firm against Somers. Then at last, other expedients having been tried and failing, the Whig chiefs with sure sagacity discerned the vulnerable point. They intimated that unless the Queen would call their chief to her counsels, they would at the meeting of Parliament not only assail Admiral Churchill but bring a direct charge by name against Prince George for mismanagement of naval affairs. Then indeed the Queen's resolution gave way. Any thing rather, she thought, than that the threat of personal accusation should embitter the last hours of her dying husband. She announced to Godolphin her consent to accept Somers as one of her Ministry, so that the great object of the Whigs at this time was carried through, and complete success attended their well-timed, though certainly most unfeeling, manœuvre.

The concession of the Queen took place towards the 20th of October; and the event which she endeavoured

[6] The Queen to Marlborough, July 22, 1708.

to soothe was not long delayed. The Prince then and for some time past at Kensington was rapidly sinking. On the 28th of the same month he expired. "Nature" so writes Godolphin "was quite worn out in him and no art could support him long." The Duchess of Marlborough as Mistress of the Robes was present at his death, and supported her Royal Mistress during her first burst of anguish and removal to St. James's. The Queen's heart was softened towards her former favourite, whom we find that she once more addressed in her notes as her "dear Mrs. Freeman." But the reconciliation did not endure. 1708.

The death of the Prince however cleared the way for the time in public affairs. No further objection was offered by the sorrowing Queen. Admiral Churchill fell of course with his chief and patron. Lord Pembroke was transferred to the Admiralty, while two of the Whig Junto, Somers and Wharton, were appointed the one President of the Council and the other Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The place of Attorney-General so long vacant was filled by Sir James Montague as Godolphin had proposed.

Parliament met on the 16th of November and was in the Queen's absence opened by Commission. A gentleman of high character and moderate Whig principles, Sir Richard Onslow, was chosen Speaker on the recommendation of the Government instead of Mr. Bromley as the Queen had wished. The ascendency of the Whigs at this time was undisputed; and little was done during the short remainder of this Session beyond the passing of loyal Addresses and the requisite Supplies. There was however a motion from one member of the Opposition, namely Sir Thomas Hanmer, of a vote of thanks to General Webb for his victory at Wynendale. The motion was carried unanimously and was well deserved by that gallant chief, but it was also designed as a side-blow against Marlborough, who

CHAP. XI.

had inadvertently given the chief praise to Cadogan in the hurry of his first despatches.

1709. The Christmas holidays having passed there was further an attempt in both Houses—which in both proved abortive—to arraign the Government for connivance in the lately intended invasion. Lord Haversham made on this occasion, what his contemporaries call, his "annual speech"—most amply reported by himself. In one passage he was understood to reflect on the Lord Treasurer with especial bitterness. "Remember" he said "that he among the Apostles who bore the bag proved the traitor!"

In the same month there was also an expression of Parliament which in those days was looked upon as most loyal and becoming but which at present would certainly be deemed an unjustifiable intrusion upon private sorrows. On the 28th of January, exactly three months from the death of the Prince, the two Houses sent up a joint Address to the Queen, praying "that she would not suffer her just grief so far to prevail but would have such indulgence to the hearty desires of her subjects as to entertain thoughts of a second marriage." The Queen in her reply observed, that the frequent marks of duty and affection from her Parliament must needs be very acceptable to her. She said that the provision she had made for the Protestant Succession would always be a proof how much she had at heart the future happiness of the kingdom. And Her Majesty added: "The subject of this Address is of such a nature that I am persuaded you do not expect a particular answer."

It had been rashly supposed that the Whig chiefs would be satisfied with the large concessions which they had obtained on the Prince's demise. But this did not prove to be the case. They seemed as on former occasions to regard the grant of a favour as only a step to the enforcement of another. Of the

members of their famous Junto three, namely Sunderland, Somers, and Wharton, were now placed in some of the highest offices of state. But there remained Halifax and Orford. Immediately then after the Christmas holidays Halifax put forth in haughty terms his claim to be joint Plenipotentiary at the Congress expected to be held for the negotiation of peace. When told by Godolphin that this appointment was already promised to Lord Townshend he uttered the most violent invectives, levelled especially at the Marlboroughs—both Duchess and Duke.

In like manner the Whig chiefs now insisted that Lord Orford should be placed at the head of the Admiralty. The Queen, who had by this time resumed her attention to business, felt a strong repugnance to his character—not more strong however than impartial historians have expressed. Thus Mr. Hallam, when referring to Lord Orford in his earlier course as Admiral Russell, denounces what he terms "his infamous neglect of duty and contemptible excuses." And Mr. Hallam adds, I think very truly: "It is one thing to prefer the Whig principle; another to justify as an advocate the party which bore that name."[7]

Thus during the remainder of this Session—it did not close till the 21st of April—both the Treasurer and General were grievously harassed. "I must give myself the vent of saying"—so writes the former to the latter—"that the life of a slave in the galleys is Paradise in comparison with mine." There was one transaction, or rather chain of transactions, which especially disquieted Godolphin. They are related in the Parliamentary History with very little clearness, and as if only on vague hearsay; but I can here supply a secret narrative as given in confidence by an actor in the scene. For thus did the elder Horace Walpole write to General Stanhope then in Spain:

[7] Constitutional History, vol. iii. p. 126 and 202, ed. 1855.

CHAP. XI. 1709.

"This Session of Parliament had like to have been happily determined without any difference between Court or country, or new improvements in Government; but at last something fell out to exercise the spirits and inclinations of all sides. The Lords in considering how to improve the Union of the two Kingdoms passed a Bill for making the laws in cases of Treason the same throughout the United Kingdom, which was strenuously opposed by the whole body of the Northern Peers, notwithstanding they themselves by the Articles of Union, at their own desire, are to be tried by their Peers, and according to the Laws of England. The North Britons, in the Lower House, were as violently and unanimously determined to be against any such Act, and their pretence was that their laws in treasonable cases are more for the security of the subject than those of England; as giving more time to the prisoner to be informed of the witnesses that are to swear against him, and upon conviction not making their entailed estates liable to forfeiture, because a tenant in tail there cannot, by any fiction in law, cut off the entail as he can here by a common recovery. But the darkness of their laws in cases of treason, their manner of proceeding in trials, and the power of the Ministry in Scotland in almost all cases where the law is concerned, were thought by some here greater inconveniences to the subject than the aforesaid objections. When the Bill came to the Commons the Tories had no consideration but to oblige so great a body as the Scotch. The old Whigs, either for the same reason, or in hopes of getting a Clause added to take away their forfeitures in treason in case the Bill should proceed, joined with the North Britons, first in opposing the Bill, and then upon the commitment got a sufficient party to add such a Clause; which the Court opposed; but it was carried, and the Bill passed with it in the House. The Scotch were here mightily deceived, for

they were so complaisant to their friends, the Whigs, as to vote for passing the Bill, thinking it would certainly with the clause of taking away the forfeitures be rejected by the Lords, and so their friendship preserved in one House, and their aim of keeping up a distinct government in their own kingdom, and by that measure making themselves of greater weight to every party on occasion, would be obtained in the other. But when the Bill with the Amendment, that no estates should be forfeited upon conviction of treason, nor the crime of the father visited upon the son, was returned to the Lords, they prudently, rather than lose an Act of such consequence to the United Government, let the Clause stand, with this Amendment, that it should not be in force till after the Pretender's death. Yesterday this Amendment was considered by the Commons, and agreed to by a majority of five votes; upon which the North Britons left the House, in a body, very much enraged; and the Commons proceeded in the Bill, and added another Amendment to the Lords', that the forfeiting Clause should not take place till after three years after the death of Her present Majesty, to which I hear just now that the Lords have agreed, so that the laws in cases of treason will be in the united nation the same as they are in England."[8]

It was greatly feared, on the passing of this Bill, that by the aid of its provisions divers acts of vengeful retrospect, of severity and persecution, might be set on foot. Under these apprehensions the Ministers found themselves enabled, ere the Session closed, to propose and carry through an Act of Grace and Free Pardon, which the Queen sent down, and which the two Houses confirmed. It was the first in this reign and the fullest since the Revolution. The Royal forgiveness was now

[8] Letter dated Whitehall, April 19, 1709 (MS.). The proviso that the Clauses as to forfeiture should not take effect until after the Pretender's death was moved by Lord Somers. (Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 797.)

CHAP. XI. 1709.

granted to all treasons committed before the passing of the Act, excepting those only done on the high seas; by which limitation it was intended to shut out those who in the previous year had embarked with the Pretender.

This beneficent Act had a much larger scope than at the time was fully apprehended. It ensured the safety and it allayed the fears of very many who within the last twenty years had held correspondence with the Court of St. Germain's. No stronger proof can be given of its wide-spread influence than that the two chief men in the Queen's service—Marlborough and Godolphin—were in truth affected by it. Both had formerly bound themselves by secret engagements to the exiled King; both had made themselves liable on detection to all the penalties of High Treason until within the shelter of this Act of Grace which was framed and carried by themselves.

Marlborough had remained upon the Continent long after the close of the campaign and beyond the commencement of the year. His great object was to watch the progress of the French overtures for peace. Louis had grown more and more eager to conclude, even at the cost of low submissions and heavy sacrifices, a to him disastrous war. He had seen General after General defeated, fortress after fortress reduced. He had seen Desmarets, whom he had lately in the room of Chamillart placed at the head of his ruinous finances wholly unable to retrieve them or to wring fresh imposts from the overburthened people. But great as the public distresses were already they rose during this winter to the direst pitch of suffering. On the 5th of January there commenced, and there continued during many weeks, a frost of such intensity as had no parallel in France. Not only were the rivers congealed, but ice in some places formed on the sea along the shores—ice so thick as to

bear a waggon's weight.[9] The fruit-trees throughout the kingdom—the apple-trees of Normandy no less than the olive-trees of Provence—withered away and died. Blight fell on Anjou with its rich corn-lands, and on Gascony with its budding vines. The hope of the harvest was gone, and famine stared the people in the face.

In a streight so grievous the King, deeply touched with compassion for his suffering subjects, felt that he should do everything, and bear everything, to obtain a peace. He renewed his overtures at the Hague in a private form, first through Mesnager, a deputy of the merchants at Rouen, and a man well skilled in business, and next through Pettekum, the Minister in Holland of the Duke of Holstein. It was found impossible to draw the Dutch into any separate negotiation; a peace if made at all must be made with the whole of the Allies. Pensionary Heinsius moreover declared that it was useless to discuss the question any further, unless the French at the very outset and previous to other demands that would be made on them were prepared to offer Spain and the Indies, with the Milanese and the Netherlands; a Barrier of strong towns to the Dutch; and a treaty of commerce in their favour.

Hard as these conditions were deemed at Versailles, as not even preliminaries but only the foundation of preliminaries, M. de Torcy was instructed to allow them. To carry on the negotiation by directly accredited agents he requested that passports should be sent from the Hague for two Ministers on the part of France; the one to be a French subject, the other Bergheyck, late Intendant for Spain in the Low Countries. A passport was sent to the Frenchman,

[9] Mém. de St. Simon, vol. vii. p. 100. Though with less severity the same frost extended to England as is commemorated by Swift in his Prophecy of Merlin for this year.

"Tamys rivere twys y-frozen,
Walke sans wetyng shoes ne hozen,"

(Swift's Works, vol. xiv. p. 92.)

CHAP. XI. 1709.

but refused to the Spaniard. Louis, suppressing all resentment at this slight, made choice for his sole negotiator of Rouillé, a President of the Parliament of Paris, who had shown much ability and address in former diplomatic missions. He was instructed to stipulate the best terms he could, especially if possible the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily as a compensation to Philip of Spain, but above all to obtain a suspension of hostilities, so as to avert from France the only too probable disasters of the next campaign.

With no further delay Rouillé set out for Holland. There he was received with great coldness and exposed to many mortifications. He was not permitted to come to the Hague, but ordered to confine himself first to Moerdyke and afterwards to Worden; and to hold no communication except with the two Deputies assigned him, Buys and Vanderdussen.

Marlborough on the other hand had repaired to London in the first days of March to concert measures with his colleagues. It was felt strongly, and above all by the Whig members of the Cabinet, that the recent attempt at invasion rendered necessary three new claims upon France. In any treaty of peace that was concluded Louis must own the Queen's title and the Protestant Succession. He must further engage to send the Pretender out of the French dominions, and to demolish the fortifications and the harbour of Dunkirk. The two former propositions in the shape of an Address to the Queen were moved by Somers in the House of Lords, and passed Nem. Con. Being sent to the Commons for their concurrence the third point as to Dunkirk was added, on the motion of Mr. Secretary Boyle. The Lords agreed, and the three points went up to Her Majesty as the unanimous recommendation of both the Houses. Few things could be conceived more galling to the pride of Louis, once so uncontrolled, as the injunction to banish from France a Prince whom

he had so long cherished and protected, and to destroy with his own hands the works constructed by him on the coast of his own dominions.

With these instructions however did Marlborough return to the Hague, and was joined by Lord Townshend as the second plenipotentiary on the part of England. On the same errand came Prince Eugene and Count Sinzendorf from Vienna. A crowd of Envoys from the smaller Princes followed in their train, each armed with some new pretension, each hungry for some fragment of France.

Thus at each succeeding conference President Rouillé found to his despair the demands upon his master step by step enlarged. Besides the terms which Pensionary Heinsius had already framed, Louis was required to cede a line of ten fortresses on the Flemish frontier as a Barrier to the Dutch, comprising not only places which he had lost such as Lille, but others such as Tournay which he still possessed. He was to relinquish some of his most highly prized possessions held by him before the commencement of the war, Strasburg with its province of Alsace, and Luxemburg with its Duchy, while at the same time nothing was clearly promised in return; neither as yet a suspension of hostilities, nor any portion of Italy for King Philip on his resigning Spain. The negotiation was suspended until Rouillé could refer the subject to his Court. On the 28th of April his last despatches were read at a Council which was held at Versailles, the King himself presiding; with him the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy and five Ministers of State. Hard, most hard, as these terms appeared to them, the Duke of Beauvilliers supported by the Chancellor Pontchartrain, and even it is said by the Duke of Burgundy, urged their acceptance from the absolute necessity of peace. Others though more silent were not less convinced. Then M. de Torcy, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs,

CHAP. XI. 1709.

offered to go himself to Holland, with the passport of a common courier, the only ones that the Dutch had sent. He undertook to struggle where there was any prospect of success; where there was none to yield; to carry concession to its furthest limits, and to sign a peace with the least possible delay..

Setting off accordingly as in disguise with his courier's pass the Minister reached the Hague on the evening of the 6th of May and drove straight to the house of Heinsius, who was greatly surprised at the appearance of this eminent and very far from expected visitor.[1] Both Marlborough and Eugene had availed themselves of the recent lull in diplomacy to leave the Hague, and had gone, the one to his colleagues in England, the other to the army in Flanders; but on their return a few days afterwards the conferences were resumed, and Torcy was permitted to summon Rouillé to his aid.

Heinsius appeared to Torcy a cold and resolute man, plain in his habits and unostentatious in his temper. Although the first man in his Republic his household, as Torcy noticed, consisted only of a Secretary and a coachman, a single lackey and a single maid-servant. By no motive of personal interest could he be swayed. But of Marlborough the Frenchman had better hopes. It was resolved at Versailles, that when alone with the Duke Torcy should venture to offer him what we English coarsely call a bribe but the French with far greater elegance of language a DOUCEUR. Torcy was instructed to engage the word of his Royal Master that Louis would transmit to Marlborough a present of two millions of livres if through his influence Naples and Sicily, or even Naples alone, could be reserved for Philip, or if France could be spared either the cession of Strasburg or the demolition of Dunkirk. The pre-

[1] Mémoires de Torcy, vol. i. p. 232, ed. 1757.

sent was to be increased even to four millions if Marlborough should be able to obtain all these objects together.

It is painful to think that such offers were actually made. But we may rejoice that the Great Duke met them exactly as his warmest admirers could have wished. Torcy informed the King that whenever, in their private interviews, he reverted to these points of personal emolument he saw Marlborough redden and without reply change the conversation. On the public questions however the Duke spoke frankly and strongly. He declared that he was most desirous to see a peace concluded, since his sole remaining thought was to live quietly at home and look only to the manifest hand of God in explaining the wonderful success of the Allies. "You also" he continued "ought to desire peace for France. You should make it as soon as you can. But if you really wish it, be assured that you must yield to us every single portion of the Spanish monarchy. On that point my countrymen are unanimous. Never will the English people allow that Naples and Sicily, or even one of those two kingdoms, should remain in the hands of a Bourbon Prince. Never will any English Minister dare to entertain such a scheme."[2]

It was supposed by the French negotiator, to whom the demands relative to Dunkirk and to the Pretender had been already explained by Heinsius, that Marlborough had nothing further to ask on the part of England. The case proved otherwise. The Duke informed him that he had positive orders from his Royal Mistress to insist on the restitution of Newfoundland. "That is a point" he added "which Lord Townshend who is come with me as my colleague will more particularly urge," and as to all these points

[2] Mém. de Torcy, vol. ii. p. 62 and 79.

CHAP. XI. 1709.

Marlborough pressed with much earnestness that the French should yield.

Several times during these discussions did the Duke express his great respect, nay almost attachment, to Louis the Fourteenth; always remembering he said that it was in the French service and under M. de Turenne that he had learnt the Art of War. Torcy hoping still further to engage him let fall an intimation that he knew all the circumstances of the Duke's secret correspondence with King James in exile and subsequently with the Duke of Berwick. The face of Marlborough flushed but he made no reply. Yet in other parts of the same and the next ensuing conversations he adverted to the young Chevalier in terms of warm regard. "I much wish" he said "to serve the Prince of Wales. He is son of a King for whom I would have given my blood and my life. And I think that it will be for the Prince's real interest if he now leaves France, which my instructions have directed me to urge as a condition of the peace.

"But where is he to go? Torcy asked. "Any where he pleases," Marlborough answered. "He may fix his residence in any other country and enjoy full security and freedom." "And how subsist" continued Torcy "when removed from the King my master's bounty? Could not the English Government in such a case undertake to pay the dowry which it owes to the Queen his mother?"

In reply to these last questions Marlborough pointed out that any payment to the Exiled Queen would encounter great obstacles from the state of the law in England. But he advised Torcy to insist strongly on this point whenever the Duke with Townshend as his colleague came to hold their joint conference with him. "In Lord Townshend" continued Marlborough "I have now a kind of SURVEILLANT or watcher over me. But he is a very honest man, named to this office by my

own selection. He belongs to the party of the Whigs, and in his presence I am obliged to speak like an obstinate Englishman; but I wish with all my heart to serve the Prince of Wales; and I shall be very glad if your 'instances' with him shall afford me the present means to do so."—Torcy adds that in these declarations the Duke spoke with great emphasis and earnestness, several times calling God to witness for the sincerity of his words.[3]

In the further negotiations which ensued Torcy was greatly guided by the wise counsel which he had received from Marlborough. He went to the furthest limits of his powers to obtain a peace. He was willing to admit the several demands of England. He was willing to give up ten fortresses in Flanders as a Barrier to the Dutch. He was willing to yield Luxemburg, Strasburg, and Brisach to the Empire, and moreover (subject to further instructions) Exiles and Fenestrelles to the Duke of Savoy. Above all he consented to relinquish the whole of the vast inheritance of Spain. But this last concession however indispensable gave rise to a difficulty of another kind. The Duke of Anjou, as the Allies continued to call him, was King Philip in nine-tenths of Spain. He seemed to have taken firm root in Castille. He was at this time relying almost wholly on his own subjects and his own resources, since his French auxiliaries were now under notice of withdrawal and left only for a limited time. What authority then had Louis to promise, or what power to enforce, the resignation of his grandson?

Already in announcing the withdrawal of the French auxiliaries from Spain Louis had authorised his ambassador at the Court of Madrid to make known to Philip that the exigency of his own affairs might compel him

[3] Despatch of Torcy to Louis XIV., May 22, 1709, and his Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 68 and 89. All this is much softened down in Coxe's Marlborough. vol. iv. p. 395.

CHAP. XI. 1709.

in any treaty of peace to cancel his first recognition and forswear his further aid. It was desired in this manner to prepare his mind for his voluntary retirement from Spain. But the answer of the young Monarch addressed to Louis himself was most lofty and uncompromising in its tone. "God" he said "has placed the Crown of Spain on my head; and I will maintain it so long as a drop of blood flows in my veins." [4]

It did seem to Louis however that so long as Philip had the prospect to continue King though of a much smaller kingdom he might be expected to resign. If France made peace he could scarcely hope single-handed to maintain himself against the united efforts of the High Allies. The certainty even of Sicily would be preferable to so slight a chance of Spain. But if no compensation at all were held out to him as the price of his compliance what motive had he to comply? What more could he lose by resisting and wherefore not resist?

On these grounds it was earnestly impressed by Torcy upon the other negotiators, that since they insisted on obtaining the entire succession of the Spanish monarchy Louis could not undertake to answer for his grandson. He could only promise to withhold every succour of men and money, and leave Philip to his fate. But here the chiefs of the Allies suspected some design of deception, as though the object were only to amuse them and gain time. The ill faith of Louis had been experienced on former occasions in the course of his long reign; and certainly if a Prince has broken his plighted engagements his enemies may be forgiven for mistrusting his solemn asseverations. Perhaps however they did not sufficiently discriminate the cases. In this case the depression of France was a pledge for the sincerity of Louis.

[4] This letter, which bears date April 17, 1709, is printed in the Mémoires de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 45, ed. 1777.

The party of war however was just then in the ascendant at the Hague, or to speak more accurately the party of peace on the hardest terms; and Marlborough was in like manner overruled by his instructions from England. On the 27th of May Pensionary Heinsius in the name of the Allies presented to Torcy their project of Preliminaries in forty articles. These comprised all the concessions on the part of France which have already been enumerated and a few besides, to England, to Holland, to the Emperor, and to the Duke of Savoy, but they did not give to France a treaty of peace in return. They provided only for a suspension of arms during two months commencing on the 1st of June. Within those two months the Duke of Anjou was to relinquish Spain and retire into France with his principal adherents, and if he failed to do so Louis was to enter into concert with the Allies for his compulsion; that is, in other words, join the league against his grandson. During these two months Louis was to place in the hands of the Allies some of the most important fortresses which he still possessed, as Mons and Namur, Luxemburg and Strasburg, and to raze the works at Dunkirk. In the Congress intended to be held meanwhile at the Hague the smaller Princes of the confederacy might put forward their pretensions, and if a peace were not agreed upon within two months the hostilities might recommence.

On seeing these Preliminary Articles Torcy declared to Heinsius that he had no sufficient powers to sign them, and that, as he believed, they would not be accepted by his master. He undertook however to convey them with all despatch for the King's decision leaving meanwhile Rouillé at the Hague.

With these Articles accordingly did Torcy re-appear at Versailles, and a Council was forthwith summoned to decide the momentous question which he brought.

CHAP. XI. 1709.

There, on the 2nd of June, appeared the majestic presence of Louis; there were his son and his grandson; there was his nephew of Orleans; there was every Minister of State. All with one voice declared the treaty inadmissible. It was not so much the vast amount of the concessions which deterred them. For these they were in great measure prepared by what they knew of the distresses of France and the claims of the Allies. But it was felt that these concessions gave them in fact no peace and only a truce of two months, when France after having surrendered some of her best fortresses and demolished her works at Dunkirk might have to recommence the contest at still greater disadvantage. Louis was moreover deeply pained by the Article which, in the event of Philip's non-compliance, might require him to join the Allies. "If I must wage war" he said "I would rather wage it against my enemies than against my children."

The decision of his Counsellors concurring with his own the King on the same day addressed a letter to President Rouillé, commanding him to return to France. First however he was to signify to Heinsius that His Majesty rejected the Preliminaries and declared null the offers he had made. At the same time by the advice of Torcy, and for the first time during his reign of fifty years, Louis made an appeal to his people. He issued a Circular to the Governors of the Provinces designed to be made public and explaining the great sacrifices which he had been willing to make for peace, while only a short truce was tendered in return, and calling on his faithful subjects to support him in the prosecution of now a necessary war. The result of this appeal was such as to exceed his highest hopes. It roused from deep depression the martial spirit of the French. Famine-struck and wasted as they were and cast down by a long succession of disasters, the call upon their pride of country was to them

like the sound of the trumpet to the steed. They felt that their Sovereign had gone to the furthest lengths to give them peace, and they girded themselves up to renew the contest even though with a bankrupt Treasury and with starving armies.

To set an example of the sacrifices which the time required the King sent his plate, gold and silver, to the Mint, and the same course was adopted by nearly all the great Lords of his Court. There was another measure by which Louis sought to gratify his people. Rightly or wrongly they with one voice imputed great part of their reverses in the field to the fault of Chamillart. He had already some months since been permitted at his own request to resign one of the two great offices which he held as Minister of the Finances. Now he was dismissed from the other, or the War department, his place being supplied by Voisin, formerly Intendant at Maubeuge.

The demands of the Allies in these negotiations do not, when fairly reviewed, seem liable to the charge of injustice which the French historians have alleged.[5] There was no injustice after such victories as those of Blenheim and Ramillies in demanding that France should relinquish whatever she had gained since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648—and it was to that limit that the claim for cessions was confined. But if not of injustice the Allies may be accused of impolicy. By taking a stand on their extreme right and urging conditions so harsh they kindled as we have seen in France a flame of resentment and resistance and supplied to their enemy a new weapon for the war.

During these negotiations the political foes of Marlborough both in Holland and in England renewed the malicious charge against him, that he endeavoured to prolong the war for the sake of his own emoluments.

[5] "Les conditions aussi injustes qu' humiliantes," says, for example, Sismondi. (Hist. des Français, vol. xxvii. p. 80.)

CHAP. XI. 1709.

But the facts were directly otherwise. The secret letters of Marlborough to Godolphin and the Duchess, and not merely his conversations with Torcy, make it manifest that he was striving for peace—that he was hopeful of it—that he was fettered far more than he wished to be by the stringency of his instructions from home. Above all the pretensions of the Dutch as to their Barrier seemed to him exorbitant. So strongly did he feel this that when, on the failure of the negotiations with France, the Dutch desired a Treaty of guarantee with England for their eventual claims in that respect Marlborough peremptorily refused to sign it, and it was signed by his colleague only. The superior sagacity of the Great Duke was proved by the event, when in less than three years, the Tories being then in the ascendant, that colleague Lord Townshend was for his share in the obnoxious Treaty censured by the House of Commons in the severest terms.

The hopes of peace having vanished hostilities were now to recommence. Marlborough and Eugene put themselves at the head of the army in Flanders amounting to 110,000 men. To oppose them Louis sent Marshal Villars, the only French chief who during this war had been constantly fortunate. The troops that he found were not only inferior in numbers to those of the Allies, but half clothed, half armed, half fed. "Only imagine" says the Marshal in one of his letters "the horror to see an army in want of bread. To-day it was not delivered till the evening and late in the evening too. Yesterday, that I might supply the brigades which had to march, I was obliged to impose a fast on the brigades which stood still." Under these circumstances Villars could only remain on the defensive. He entrenched himself to the best advantage on the plains of Lens. Marlborough and Eugene came to reconnoitre his position but deemed it too strong to be assailed, and changing their plans they

suddenly invested Tournay. Trenches were opened on the night of July the 7th. The town was strongly fortified and held a garrison of several thousand men, but it was ill defended and yielded by capitulation so early as the 29th, the French retiring to the citadel which they continued to maintain.

During this time the troops of Villars had received some considerable reinforcements and were animated by the rising zeal among their countrymen which the Circular of Louis produced. Nor was it a slight advantage to be joined by Marshal Boufflers. He was greatly the senior of Villars in military rank, but from a most noble spirit well worthy the defender of Lille, and feeling how much might depend upon a single life, he had offered to the King to go, and he had come to serve as second in command. There came also, as a volunteer, the Chevalier de St. George.

It was hoped by Marshal Villars that he might find some opportunity to relieve the citadel of Tournay, but he was constantly baffled by the vigilance of Marlborough and Eugene. The citadel surrendered on the 3rd of September, and the Allies then prepared for the investment of Mons. That important city, the capital of Hainault, was ill supplied both with troops and stores; and Villars felt that he must make an effort to prevent if possible the siege. He broke up from the plains of Lens and reached the heath and hamlet of Malplaquet. There after some preliminary movements he took post at a "Trouée," or cleared space, between the wood of Lanière and that of Taisnières with its prolongation the wood of Sars. The Allied chiefs on the other hand beheld his advance with joy as trusting to bring him to a battle. Both armies cannonaded each other during great part of the 10th of September, and the Allies were meanwhile rejoined by the troops which they had left at Tournay. In the evening and night which ensued Villars threw up some intrench-

CHAP. XI.

ments and abbatis of trees, hoping in this position both to secure himself and to cover Mons.

1709. Marlborough and Eugene however had resolved to attack him on the morrow. At three o'clock in the morning of that morrow, the 11th of September, Divine Service was solemnly performed in their camp, and the divisions then moved in silence to their appointed posts. But their assault was delayed not only until the sun had risen but until the morning mists had cleared away. Eugene commanded their right having Villars opposed to him; Marlborough the left and centre confronted by Boufflers. According to the most careful computation the two armies were very nearly equal in numbers; each more than 90,000 strong. And as equal in numbers so they were alike in spirit. The French were disposed to forget their late reverses and rely on their new commander. As he mounted his horse at seven in the morning he was greeted with shouts along the line: "Vive le Roi! Vive le Maréchal de Villars!" Many of the men, ill supplied with food as they had recently been, threw aside their rations of bread in their eagerness to begin the engagement. Among the Allies, on the other hand, the soldiers were told how on this very day, the 11th of September twelve years before, Prince Eugene had signally defeated the Turks in the plains of Hungary. They looked with some disdain at the field-works and intrenchments of their foes, which might remind them of a siege rather than a battle, and they were heard to mutter, "So we have still to make war upon moles!"

The onset of the Allies was begun by two columns of Marlborough's division; the one under the Prince of Orange; the other under Count Lottum. There ensued a fierce conflict, which raged especially in the centre beyond the little wood of Tiry. Ere long the engagement became general. There were strenuous exertions

on both sides, and the slaughter of the assailants was terrible. The troops of Eugene advanced till close upon the French intrenchments, where they were received by so murderous a fire of small arms that they recoiled in disorder, but they were rallied by Eugene himself who took post in the very front of the line. On the centre of the Allies, in like manner, Count Lottum's column was thrust back, though bravely supported by Lord Orkney with fifteen battalions. Then to recover the ground Marlborough in person charged at the head of d'Auvergne's cavalry three thousand strong.

To the left the column of the Prince of Orange though a little later was fully as gallant in its onset. It comprised troops of various nations, but nearly all in the pay of the Republic, the Dutch themselves being led by Spaar and Oxenstiern. Heading this column was the Scottish brigade under the direction of Major-General Hamilton; it consisted in great part of Athol Highlanders commanded by Lord Tullibardine, eldest son of their chief. As they advanced a terrible shower both of musketry and grape-shot was poured upon them, and whole ranks were swept away. Oxenstiern fell dead by the side of the Prince of Orange, and His Highness's horse was shot under him, but the Prince with the spirit of his race still pressed forward on foot. At length by a steady rush the intrenchments on this point were carried, both the first and second line, but they could not be maintained. The Prince had no reserve to bring up, and Boufflers with some fresh troops charged fiercely on his front, while a battery with grape-shot opened in flank. Tullibardine was slain upon the redoubt which he had so gallantly won, and Hamilton was borne away wounded. The slaughter of the Allies did not cease as they wavered and fell back, and the veteran Spaar also was left dead upon the field.

CHAP. XI. 1709.

Meanwhile upon the right Marshal Villars having drawn from his centre the Irish brigade and that of Brittany sallied from his works and fell with fury upon the English and Prussians at the wood of Taisnières. But by this movement the French in the centre were weakened, and besides being hotly pressed by Marlborough were thrown into confusion by the fall of their immediate commander General Steckemberg. Thus in spite of their resolute resistance Marlborough was enabled to carry the intrenchments on that side, and began to pour his men through the opening into the open plain beyond where the French cavalry was ranged.

Prince Eugene on his part was rallying his men and leading them to another charge when one of the enemy's musket-balls struck him behind the ear. The officers in his train entreated him to retire that his wound might be dressed, but he answered calmly: "If I survive it will be time enough this evening," and he remained in the front ranks. Far more severe was the wound of Marshal Villars. As he was directing a charge with the bayonet on the advancing troops of Eugene he was struck by a musket-ball above the knee. Like Eugene's his high spirit at first sustained him, and he called for a chair that he might continue on the field, but fainting from the anguish of the wound he was borne away senseless to Le Quesnoy.

Marshal Boufflers, on whom the chief command devolved, made the most strenuous exertions to retrieve the fortune of the day. But his position, as already pierced through in the centre, was in truth untenable, and some desperate charges headed by himself proved in vain. Ere long loud shouts, which burst forth to the left of the Allies, announced that in this quarter also the French works were finally carried. It only remained for Boufflers to make a retreat in good order, and this he accomplished falling back upon Bavay. His soldiers

left the field not scattered nor singly nor as men defeated, but in serried ranks and compact masses as men ready at any moment if need were to renew the conflict. In the whole action which had lasted seven hours they had lost less than 500 prisoners and very few pieces of cannon. Of standards and colours they had taken full as many from the Allies as the Allies had taken from them. As to the slain it will presently be shown that they had inflicted a loss far more heavy than they had sustained. On the whole then, after so many and such great reverses in their campaigns against Marlborough and Eugene, a defeat so well contested by themselves and so dearly bought by their opponents seemed to them almost an equivalent of victory. Thus Marshal Villars in one of his reports to his King, dated a few days afterwards, thought himself justified in saying: "If God in his goodness should vouchsafe to us to lose such another battle your Majesty may consider your enemies annihilated!" [6]

With respect to the numbers we cannot indeed assent to the exaggerations of Villars, whose undoubted gallantry was only too often dashed with gasconade. He goes the length of declaring that the Allies had lost 30,000 men and his own army only 6,000. The most careful computations derived from different sources make out that the French loss was not less than 12,000, while that of the Allies exceeded 20,000. Such as it was however the disproportion afforded an argument to those politicians in England who desired to prove how much of nerve and vigour the French armies still retained. As Bolingbroke wrote: "A deluge of blood was spilt to dislodge them, for we did no more, at Malplaquet." [7]

[6] Lettre au Roi du 14 Septembre 1709. Mémoires militaires de la Succession d'Espagne, vol. ix. p. 377.

[7] Letters on History from Chanteloup, 1735. Letter viii. For the computation of the numbers see especially Coxe's Marlborough, vol. v. p. 64.

CHAP. XI.

1709.

If we trace the mind of Marlborough during these events as revealed in his most secret correspondence we shall find a strange amalgam of the petty and heroic—the most insignificant vexations commingled with the highest public cares. The Duchess had written to him lately in her usual strain of imperious violence, reproaching him bitterly because he had not, as she demanded, reproached the Queen. The passion of his wife struck with tremor that great chief whom no peril in the field could discompose. He answered her on the day before the battle with expressions such as these: "I can take pleasure in nothing so long as you continue uneasy and think me unkind. I do assure you, upon my honour and salvation, that the only reason why I did not write was that I am very sure it would have had no other effect than that of being shown to Mrs. Masham. . . . In the meantime I cannot hinder saying to you that though the fate of Europe if these armies engage may depend upon the good or bad success, yet your uneasiness gives me much greater trouble."

The battle being fought and over Marlborough added a postscript as follows the same evening: "I am so tired that I have but strength enough to tell you that we have had this day a very bloody battle; the first part of the day we beat their foot and afterwards their horse. God Almighty be praised it is now in our power to have what peace we please, and I may be pretty well assured of never being in another battle, but that, nor nothing in the world, can make me happy if you are not kind."

But Marlborough was not content with compliments like these; he offered also an unconditional surrender. He wrote to his consort a few days afterwards undertaking to do what he had hitherto declined—namely despatch a letter to the Queen of the purport that the Duchess had asked. Nay more, lest Her Grace should

consider him lukewarm in his language, he sent her a draft of his intended letter, that she and Godolphin might correct it as they pleased, and that he might afterwards transcribe and send it—which they and he did accordingly.

It is more pleasing to contemplate another feature by which the character of Marlborough was at all times most highly distinguished — his tender care of the wounded. As he rode over the field of Malplaquet next morning he surveyed with deep emotion the numbers of the dead and dying as strewed along the plain or heaped upon each other. He could not sleep on the two ensuing nights, and was seriously indisposed for some days; and, as is observed by himself in a letter of the time to Godolphin, "the lamentable sight and thoughts of it has given me so much uneasiness that I believe it the chief cause of my illness." But his sympathy had been shown in deeds. He had at the first despatched Cadogan to the outposts, there to hold a parley with one of the French officers and propose a suspension of arms for two days during which the dead might be buried and the wounded be relieved. This was readily agreed to, and Marlborough gave most careful directions for seeking out and assisting the French wounded, many of whom, officers and soldiers, had crept away into the neighbouring woods where they would certainly have perished but for this timely aid.

It was probably from the great number of the slain at Malplaquet and from the severe illness of Marlborough immediately afterwards, that a rumour of his having fallen in the battle spread through some of the French provinces. Thence appears to have arisen the well-known ditty "Malbrough s'en va en guerre," which relates how the tidings of his death were brought to his consort from abroad. But the great popularity of this song dates only from 1781, when a village

CHAP. XI.

nurse used it as a lullaby at the cradle of an infant Dauphin.[8]

1709. Mons became the prize of Malplaquet. The investment of that city was as soon as possible commenced by the army of Eugene and covered by the army of Marlborough. While they vigorously pressed the siege divers plans to raise it were discussed in vain by Marshal Boufflers who continued in command and Marshal Berwick who had recently joined him from the frontiers of Savoy. The breaches being declared practicable on the 20th of October the Governor beat a parley and the garrison capitulated. With this success ended the campaign. Marlborough and Eugene having disposed their troops in winter-quarters repaired to Brussels and from thence to the Hague.

On the Rhine the Elector of Hanover had been as before most tardy in taking the field and most inactive after he had taken it. A detachment of his army was indeed sent to the southward under Count Mercy; it crossed the Rhine near Basle and attempted the invasion of Alsace. But a counter-detachment of the French army under Count de Bourg engaged it near Neuburg, when Mercy was totally defeated and compelled to fall back to Germany with heavy losses.

In Dauphiny there was in truth no campaign at all. The Duke of Savoy was offended at the slackness of the Court of Vienna in sending him supplies, and at its jarring pretensions to certain districts in the north of Italy. He sullenly remained in his palace at Turin leaving the command of the troops to Count Daun, who attempted little and did nothing.

Nor yet in Spain was there much achieved. The siege of the citadel of Alicant had continued ever since the close of the preceding year. Stanhope was eager

[8] Notice par P. L. Jacob: Chants populaires de la France, vol. iii. M. Jacob adds of Marlborough: "Faute de pouvoir le vaincre on essaya de le chansonner."

CHAP. XI.

1709.

to relieve it and went to Port Mahon there to expedite the fleet. With about 4,000 troops on board he appeared in Alicant Bay, but was baffled by tempests and contrary winds and succeeded only so far as to obtain favourable terms for the two English regiments which formed the garrison and which had defended the place with the greatest gallantry. These regiments he embarked and brought back to Barcelona. In the summer Staremberg and Stanhope mustered their army on the Segre, but found it too feeble for any offensive operations. They could do little more than maintain one bank of the river while Marshal Bezons with the French and Spaniards held the other.

On the frontier of Portugal, the Allied troops, English and Portuguese, had as chiefs conjointly the Earl of Galway and the Marquis de Fronteira. Advancing from Elvas and passing the river Caya they had in front the Spaniards commanded by the Marquis de Bay. On the 17th of May and on the plain of La Gudina the two armies met. It proved another battle of Almanza on a smaller scale. The Portuguese cavalry was routed with but slight resistance, and it left exposed two battalions of English foot, which were thus cut off and compelled to lay down their arms. Lord Galway, who had a horse shot under him, narrowly escaped being taken with them. The rest of the foot however, English and Portuguese, made an orderly retreat with little loss to Elvas, and were able to maintain their position during the rest of the campaign.

The political state of Northern Europe underwent at this time not only a vicissitude but a total revolution. Charles of Sweden had for many months been warring against the Czar. He had wintered in Muscovy amidst hardships of every kind, while his troops wasted more and more under the twofold influence of stubborn enemies and inclement skies. In the summer of 1709 he was lured to the invasion of Ukraine and the siege

CHAP. XI. 1709.

of Pultawa. There on the 8th of July the Czar gave him battle at the head of a far superior army. Notwithstanding the great bravery of the Swedes they were entirely defeated; the soldiers for the most part taken and sent as prisoners to Siberia, while Charles himself had to ride for his life and seek shelter within the Turkish dominions. At these tidings the party which he had overthrown in Poland raised its head. King Augustus declared that his renunciation was null and void as having been extorted from him, and he marched back to Warsaw; while King Stanislas was in his turn exiled and dethroned.

Reverting to home politics we find the cabals continued. Mrs. Masham retained her ascendency at Court. The Duchess of Marlborough had several times forced herself into the Royal presence and made some desperate attempts to recover her lost ground. She had yet to learn that friendship is not like a fortified town to be carried by assault. Finding other means fail she transcribed sundry extracts from the "Whole Duty of Man" and also the injunction from the Book of Common Prayer, bidding us be in charity with all men before the Holy Communion is received. To these extracts she added a long memorial in praise of her own conduct and enclosed the whole to the Queen, with a letter beseeching Her Majesty's perusal of these bulky documents. In return she had only a note, in which Anne briefly said that when she had leisure to read all the papers she would send an answer to them.

It is said that an arrogant act on the part of the Duchess tended to precipitate the scale against her. It is said that one day in a ceremonial at Court Her Grace, as though by inadvertence, spilled a whole glass of water on the gown of Mrs. Masham. This anecdote is for its truth mainly dependent on tradition, nor is it clear at what precise period it occurred. But it seems the rather entitled to credit as being expressly recorded

by Voltaire, who was in London not very many years afterwards, who had access to the best companies, and who found means to collect the most authentic information.[9]

The Queen through all these altercations with her former favourite continued to refer to Marlborough in the terms of respect and gratitude due to his public services. Still the Duke might foresee as possible the decline, nay even the downfall of his influence. Were there then no means by which that influence might be maintained? Was there no expedient to render Marlborough, and as under Marlborough the army, independent of the power of the Crown? Such an object would be fully accomplished if the Duke could obtain a patent for life of his present office as Captain General or Commander in Chief, and to that patent for life Marlborough now aspired.

The first difficulty was to find any precedent for so unconstitutional a claim. Marlborough, before he set out for the campaign in Flanders, had spoken to the Lord Chancellor upon the subject, but Cowper assured him that this high office had never been granted otherwise than during pleasure. Since however this answer was given in conversation only it did not satisfy Marlborough, who requested the Chancellor to search the public records. This was done accordingly but with no other result. Not yet convinced Marlborough next deputed Craggs to examine especially the commission of General Monk, who from his eminent service as restorer of the monarchy might perhaps afford some warrant for Marlborough's exorbitant pretension. Here again it appeared that Monk's commission was made

[9] "Quelques paires de gants d'une façon singulière que la Duchesse refusa à la Reine, une jatte d'eau qu'elle laissa tomber en sa présence par une méprise affectée sur la robe de Madame Masham, changèrent la face de l'Europe." Siècle de Louis XIV., vol. i. p. 371, ed. 1752. On this story Scribe has framed his comedy, "Le Verre d'Eau," first acted November 17, 1840.

CHAP. XI. 1709.

during pleasure only; and the Chancellor added his opinion that a patent for life would not merely be an entire innovation, to which he would not put the Great Seal, but moreover be liable to malicious imputations.

With or without a precedent Marlborough was determined to proceed. He addressed a letter to the Queen in the course of the campaign praying to be made General for life. It was a most ill-timed request when a cry was already raised against Marlborough's ambition and the vast accumulation of offices in his own and the Duchess's hands. Nor can it be thought surprising that the Queen was both offended and alarmed. After consulting, as is supposed, her private advisers she answered the Duke with a positive refusal. Marlborough, who in the whole of this transaction seems to have been transported far beyond the bounds of his customary prudence, rejoined by another letter of angry reproach and remonstrance, which only increased the indignation of the Queen.

Through the whole of this summer Anne had been warmly pressed with solicitations upon another subject. It was to place Lord Orford at the head of the Admiralty. The Queen having slowly and reluctantly yielded, there arose another contest on the composition of the Board. Her Majesty desired to exclude from it those naval chiefs whom she regarded as the late Prince's ill wishers, especially Sir George Byng and Sir John Jennings. But these being zealous Whigs were no less warmly urged by Lord Sunderland's party, and the Queen could prevail only as to the latter name for which Sir John Leake's was substituted. Thus amidst a thousand difficulties the list was settled. Lord Pembroke was recompensed for the loss of office by the enormous pension of £3,000 a year; and the new Commission was issued on the 8th of November the very day on which Marlborough landed in England.

CHAP. XI. 1709.

Parliament met on the 15th of the same month. The Royal Speech referred to the attempts which the French had made to create divisions or jealousies among the Allies. "But" added the Queen "they were entirely disappointed in their expectations. . . . God Almighty has been pleased to bless us with a most remarkable victory. . . However, the war still continuing, I find myself obliged again to desire you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to grant me such Supplies as may enable us to put the last hand to this great work." Nor was there any remissness in the House of Commons. Within a few weeks it voted upwards of 6,000,000*l.* of Supply including an augmentation of forces.

Parties seemed at rest and the dominion of the Whigs might be thought securely established. They had struck down the Tories. They had overpowered the Queen. They had dictated their own terms to the Treasurer and the General in chief. They had conquered the last remaining stronghold in the administration by the appointment of Lord Orford and his Admiralty Board. Yet so strange are the vicissitudes of Fortune that in almost the very same month in which the Gazette announced this final conquest, this new Admiralty Board, they took a resolution upon another subject which at no long interval produced the eclipse of their party and the downfall of their power.

CHAPTER XII.

CHAP. XII.

HENRY SACHEVERELL was grandson of a Presbyterian Minister at Wincaunton and son of a clergyman of Low-Church principles, the incumbent of a church at Marlborough. For himself on entering Holy Orders he attached himself to the school of Archbishop Laud. After some years of obscurity in a country retirement and as Fellow of Magdalen College at Oxford he attained the rank of Doctor in Divinity, and also by popular election the benefice of St. Saviour's in Southwark. There he could preach to large congregations his favourite doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience. In the discussions which these occasioned among the London people he was commonly pitted against Mr. Benjamin Hoadley, then Rector of St Peter-le-Poer in the City, who carried the opposite doctrines to the very furthest extreme. But in the eyes of all discerning judges Sacheverell was on these occasions and on every other far more distinguished by zeal and noise than by either ability or learning.

It so chanced that in the August of this year Dr. Sacheverell had preached before the Judges at the summer assizes of Derbyshire. The subject of this sermon was described by himself as the "Communication of Sin." On the 5th of November following he preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London at St. Paul's, and this second discourse he entitled "the perils of false brethren both in Church and State." In both these sermons, but in the latter more especially, he gave the rein to his hostility against the principles of the Revolution, by denying that resist-

ance was lawful to any form of tyranny. He inveighed with bitterness against the Dissenters, and still more against what he termed "the toleration of the Genevan discipline." And he argued that, in consequence of such toleration to Calvinists, the Church of England was "in a condition of great peril and adversity" even in Her Majesty's reign. Nor did he refrain from personal allusions, glancing above all at the Lord Treasurer under his well-known nickname as the Old Fox or Volpone. CHAP. XII. 1709.

The Lord Mayor of London at this time, himself an ardent High Tory, greatly admired these sentiments as he heard them delivered from the pulpit at St. Paul's. He invited the Doctor to dinner that same afternoon, carrying him home in his coach, gave him thanks for his good sermon, and told him that he hoped to see it in print. "I am afraid" said Sacheverell "that I have spoken some bold truths which might displease some people." The Lord Mayor nevertheless undertook to propose to the Court of Aldermen that they should return Sacheverell thanks for his sermon and desire him to print it. The motion so made was rejected by the Court of Aldermen. But Sacheverell, relying on the Lord Mayor's connivance, proceeded to publish the sermon as also his former discourse at Derby. The one at St. Paul's being greatly the superior in audacity excited far the most attention. It was disseminated far and wide by those who wished well to its doctrines, and, as was commonly computed, the number of copies sold or sent round amounted to 40,000. 1710.

The Whigs were much incensed, and justly so. They apprehended the popular impression which might be made, and they rejoiced that the preacher had by his publication brought himself within reach of their resentment. The Ministers meeting in Cabinet discussed the question in the first days of December. Somers with his usual sagacity advised, that if the sermon were noticed by the Government at all it should only be by

CHAP. XIII. 1710.

prosecution according to the ordinary forms of law. In this counsel he was, after some hesitation, supported by Marlborough. But Sunderland came forward with the more vigorous proposal, that Sacheverell should be made the subject of an impeachment by the House of Commons and a trial by the House of Lords.

It was this last proposal which commended itself to the judgment of Godolphin. Like many timid men he would sometimes rush into the very rashest courses as a relief from his own fears. He seems to have looked upon Sacheverell as so dangerous a monster that no means could be too potent to subdue him. Moreover he was stung to the quick by the nickname of Volpone. Under this affront, or, as Lord Macaulay says of him, "inflamed with all the zeal of a new-made Whig,"[1] he pressed for the most vindictive measures, and by his influence as Prime Minister appears to have turned the scale.

The determination thus taken was promptly carried out. On the 13th of December Mr. John Dolben, seconded by Mr. Spencer Cowper, made complaint in the House of Commons of the two published discourses, some paragraphs from which were at their desire read forth by the Clerk at the Table. After some debate the House resolved that these sermons were "malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels, highly reflecting upon Her Majesty and her government, the late happy Revolution, and the Protestant Succession." It was further ordered that Dr. Henry Sacheverell and Henry Clements his printer should attend at the Bar of the House next day.

Next day accordingly the Doctor and the printer came. Sacheverell freely owned the authorship of the two sermons, said that he was very sorry to have fallen under the displeasure of the House, but expressed no

[1] On the War of the Succession in Spain. Collected Essays, or Edinburgh Review, No. cxii. p. 534.

contrition for his doctrines. Under these circumstances Clements was allowed to slip through. As to Sacheverell on the contrary the House resolved that he should be impeached by them of high crimes and misdemeanors. A Committee comprising Mr. Secretary Boyle and other Ministers was appointed to draw up the Articles of Impeachment, and it was ordered that the Doctor should be taken into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms.[2]

The House of Commons in the same sitting gave another token of its resentment against Sacheverell by a recommendation of his rival. It was moved and carried that the Rev. Benjamin Hoadley had done good service in often justifying the principles of the late happy Revolution; and that the Queen should be entreated to bestow some dignity in the Church upon him.

A few days later Sacheverell sent a Petition to the House praying to admit him to bail that he might have an opportunity of making his defence. This request was referred to the Committee upon the Impeachment to search for precedents, and some such appeared; nevertheless after sharp debate the prayer of the Petition was rejected by 114 votes against 79.

While these things were passing in the Commons the first days of the new year were troubled by a conflict at Court. The Earl of Essex having died there fell vacant two offices that he held as Constable of the Tower and Colonel of the 2nd Regiment of Dragoons. In disposing of these Her Majesty evinced her continued alienation from her principal Ministers. Without consulting them she bestowed the place of Constable upon Earl Rivers, a General Officer of merit and service but on no terms of confidence with Marlborough. The Duke was much mortified, but after some strong remonstrances submitted.

[2] Compare the Commons Journals, Dec. 13 and 14, 1709, with Howell's State Trials, vol. xv. p. 1. The Parliamentary History (vol. vi. p. 805) is here very inaccurate.

CHAP. XII. 1710.

As regards the regiment the Queen next commanded, him to confer it upon Colonel Hill the brother of her favourite. Here Marlborough conceived that he might make a stand. Having first through the Duchess assured himself of the support of his Whig colleagues he asked an audience of the Queen and pointed out the prejudice which would ensue to the Service by promoting so young an officer as Colonel Hill over others of superior rank. He added that he should feel it a personal mortification, as a sign of his own declining influence, were he forced to bestow that or any other favour on a brother of Mrs. Masham. But the Queen received his representations very coldly. She adhered to her request and closed the interview by saying "You will do well to advise with your friends."

Much incensed Marlborough took the resolution to retire from Court. He set out with the Duchess for Windsor Lodge, omitting the usual ceremony of taking leave and selecting the very day on which a Cabinet Council was to be held. But this secession did not produce a like effect to that of 1708 which compelled the resignation of Harley. At the Cabinet the customary business was transacted; the Queen who was present took no notice of Marlborough's non-attendance; and Godolphin struck with tremor did not venture either there or at an audience which ensued to make the slightest allusion to his absent and dissatisfied friend.

Nor did any success attend a letter which Marlborough had left in draft for the consideration of his colleagues. It declared to the Queen his fixed intention of resigning unless Mrs. Masham were removed; and it asked Her Majesty to choose decisively and once for all between her and him. But the Treasurer, in an agony of apprehension, shrunk from so bold a course, and he prevailed with some of his Whig friends to join him in pressing that Marlborough should modify his draft and desist from his pretension. Finally there was a compromise

effected. The Duke and Duchess were to return to Court. Mrs. Masham was to remain as before. Colonel Meredith obtained the regiment instead of Colonel Hill; and the latter was gratified with a pension of 1,000*l.* a year; for a pension, according to the ill practice of that age, was it may be said a salve for every wound.

During this time the Impeachment Committee had prepared their heads of accusation, comprised in four articles with an argumentative preamble. These being reported to the House gave rise to a warm debate. Harley above all insisted on leaving out the word "seditious," alleging a precedent from the reign of Charles the First in the prosecution of Prynne. He was supported by Bromley and others; and it was moved that the Report be recommitted, but this passed in the negative by 232 against 131. Then the Articles of Impeachment were agreed to and ordered to be sent to the Lords, while Sacheverell was transferred to the custody of their House, that is to their officer the Deputy Usher of the Black Rod. But in this new jurisdiction he was dealt with differently as to the matter of Bail. It had been refused in the Commons; it was granted in the Lords; fixing however a very high amount, Sacheverell himself in 6,000*l.* and each of his two sureties in 3,000*l.* One of these two sureties was Dr. Lancaster, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford—no slight token in itself of the increased support which the Doctor was now receiving.

On the 25th of January Dr. Sacheverell delivered in his Answer to the Articles; it was bold and uncompromising in its tone. The Commons were allowed a Replication; and the Lords were then proceeding to the Trial at their Bar. But the most vehement opponents of Sacheverell in the Commons thought that they should add to the solemnity of the proceedings by a motion, that not merely the Managers of the Impeachment but the House as a body desired to be present;

CHAP. XII. 1710.

thus for better space transferring the scene to Westminster Hall. This motion was supported by the friends of Sacheverell also. They knew that the necessary arrangements would require time to complete; and from the rising ferment in the country they foresaw that delay would be most advantageous to their cause. With this combination of parties the motion was carried on the 4th of February by 192 against 180. The Lords accordingly appointed Westminster Hall as the place for the Trial, and postponed its commencement until the 27th of the month.

Marlborough from the first appears to have looked coldly on this ill-advised impeachment. It was noticed that he was scarcely ever present at the preliminary discussions of the House of Lords.[3] In this girding up for the contest of two warring parties he became an object of suspicion to both. Both, though for different reasons, came to desire his absence. A pretext, nay even a reason, was soon found. The King of France having renewed his overtures for peace and the States General being inclined to hearken to them, Sir Gilbert Heathcote on the 18th of February moved an Address to the Queen praying that she would order the Duke of Marlborough's immediate departure for Holland, "where" it was added "his presence will be equally necessary to assist at the negotiations of peace and to hasten the preparations for an early campaign." This Address, unanimously voted in the House of Commons, was as unanimously agreed to by the House of Lords. The Queen returned a gracious answer and the Duke set out accordingly.

The nearer the Trial approached, the more its gross impolicy appeared. There has always been a tendency in England, whenever a political prosecution is urged to an extreme, to favor the side of the weak even where the weak are clearly wrong. Such was the case for ex-

[3] Coxe's Marlborough, vol. v. p. 124.

ample with Sacheverell, with Wilkes, with Caroline of Brunswick. In the case now before us, the large majority of the English clergy were far, I conceive, from holding the doctrine of Passive Obedience as Sacheverell held it. But they disliked still more the semi-republican tendencies which Hoadley put forth upon the other side; and above all seeing the solemn attempt to crush one of their own body, they stood up in defence of their Order. In like manner the country gentlemen of that period were for the most part of the Cavalier and High Church school, yet attached to the Revolution settlement and zealous for the title of the Queen. They would certainly have owned at the outset that the sermons of Sacheverell went much too far. When however they saw him so hotly assailed by the Whigs they thought themselves bound to defend him with an equal zeal. Thus it happened that not merely the Passive Obedience men, or the Jacobites and Non-jurors, but the entire Tory party espoused his cause. The ablest of the Tory writers, Dr. Atterbury, placed his pen at the Doctor's disposal. The ablest of the Tory lawyers, Sir Simon Harcourt, was one of the five counsel assigned him.

On the 27th of February at last the Trial commenced. It lasted three weeks, during which, as an eye-witness has remarked, it took up all men's thoughts, so that other business was at a stand.[4] As Chancellor Lord Cowper presided. The Commons had ordered that the members of the Committee which had framed the Articles should be the Managers of the Impeachment. They were twenty in number but only eighteen appeared in Westminster Hall. According to Bishop Burnet "their performances were much and justly commended. Jekyll, Eyre, Stanhope, King, but above all Parker, distinguished themselves in a very particular manner. By none of them perhaps was the great doctrine of justi-

[4] Burnet's History, vol. v. p. 440.

CHAP. XII. 1710.

fiable resistance laid down more clearly than by General Stanhope. "I believe" he added "one may further venture to say, that there is not at this day subsisting any nation or government in the world whose first original did not receive its foundation either from resistance or compact; and as to our purpose it is equal if compact be admitted. For wherever compact is admitted there must be admitted likewise a right to defend the rights accruing by such compact." [5]

On the other side Sir Simon Harcourt and the other counsel for the Doctor were far too skilful to maintain, as he had seemed to do, the doctrine of unconditional submission to any form of tyranny. They freely acknowledged the lawfulness of resistance in extreme cases. They plainly justified the Revolution and our deliverance by King William. But they took their stand on the admitted truth, that obedience ought to be the rule and resistance only the exception. Hence they argued that it was not fit to name such an exception in a sermon, and that the duties of morality ought to be delivered in their full extent without supposing an extraordinary case. And beyond doubt there are some parallels that might be plausibly urged. Thus a preacher might most properly enforce the general duty of truthfulness without being expected to allege certain especial instances—as of a band of robbers inquiring the direction of their prey—in which deception would be justifiable, nay even entitled to praise.

It was clear from the very outset of the Trial that the popular favor was wholly on the Doctor's side. He lodged in the Temple and came every day in solemn procession through the Strand to Westminster Hall. As he passed great crowds gathered round his coach, striving to kiss his hand and shouting "Sacheverell and the Church for ever!" Those who would not join in the shouts were often insulted or knocked down. The

[5] Howell's State Trials, vol. xv. p. 127.

ardor of the multitude was even less justifiably shown by their attack upon some meeting-houses, in which the pews were demolished and burned. They threatened a like execution upon the house of Bishop Burnet, a prelate at all times most obnoxious to High Churchmen, but they were in good time met and dispersed by a party of the Guards. Some few of the rioters were apprehended and subsequently brought to trial. It is plain that the people of London at this time, as the people of Birmingham eighty years later in the Priestley riots, were loud for "Church and State," as was the cry, although they showed their zeal in a manner which the Church could not approve nor the State let go unpunished.

Thus also when the Queen impelled by curiosity went several times—"incognito" as it was termed—to hear the Trial, the people pressed about her sedan-chair exclaiming "God bless your Majesty and the Church. We hope your Majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell." Such was not at the outset the inclination of the Queen. When Bishop Burnet came to town soon after the impeachment had commenced the Queen said to him of Sacheverell and his pulpit oratory: "It is a bad sermon, and he well deserves to be punished for it." When however Anne found the Clergy of the Church of England almost as a whole and excepting the Whig Bishops espouse his cause—when she saw some of her own chaplains and other chief Divines—as Atterbury and Smalridge soon afterwards raised to the Bench, Dr. Robert Moss, and Dr. George Stanhope Dean of Canterbury—stand by his side in Westminster Hall as though making his cause their own—there is reason to believe that her secret wishes changed.

It was thus surrounded that at the close of the Trial and after his Counsel had spoken Sacheverell read to the Peers a speech in his own defence. He read it says Bishop Burnet "with much bold heat." Yet his tone

CHAP. XII. 1710.

was not that of his sermons but rather that of his Counsel. He justified his intentions towards the Queen and her Government; he spoke with respect of the Revolution, and with zeal of the Protestant Succession. And he added some pathetic touches likely to move the feelings of the Peers. So superior was this speech in composition to any thing which Sacheverell had hitherto produced, that it was well understood to be no offspring of his brain. Its merit was in general and probably with reason ascribed to Atterbury.

The Doctor having ended the Managers of the Commons replied, one of them, Mr. William Thompson, adducing in his speech a most quaint comparison.[6] Then the Peers after first resolving the doubt upon a point of form which Lord Nottingham had raised, proceeded to debate the question at large. Five of their speeches have been preserved by the care of the speakers, namely, Lord Haversham for the defence, and four Bishops—Salisbury, Oxford, Lincoln, and Norwich—for the impeachment. The well known Tory leaders—Rochester, Buckingham, Nottingham—were warmly on the Doctor's side. But inclining to him with more or less of openness there were also some dissatisfied Whig Peers. First there was the Duke of Somerset. For some time past he had been estranged from Marlborough and Godolphin and striving to form a separate cabal of his own. And at this juncture as Godolphin reports: "The Duke of Somerset labours hard against us and makes use of the Queen's name to North and South Britain with a good deal of freedom. I doubt he is pretty sure of not being disavowed." Then there was the Duke of Shrewsbury. After several years of sojourn at Rome he had come back to England bringing

[6] "Since the Doctor does still presume to defy and arraign the Resolution of your Lordships and the Commons, I may apply to him the saying of a goat browsing on a vine:

'Rode caper vitem, tamen hinc cum stabis ad aras
In tua quod fundi cornua possit, erit.'"

with him an Italian wife, and in some degree discredited by her, yet still by degrees regaining a portion of his former influence. There was also His Grace of Argyle who sat in the House of Lords as Earl of Greenwich, and who made common cause with his brother, Earl of Isla. He had greatly distinguished himself in Flanders during the last campaign, and his promotion had been eagerly pressed by Marlborough, to whom he might seem bound by ties of gratitude; but gratitude and constancy were not among the virtues of this accomplished man.

The debates having concluded the Lords were prepared to give their votes on Monday the 20th of March. Then in due form the Chancellor, beginning with the lowest in rank among the Peers, called upon them in succession to pronounce Guilty or Not Guilty. It was found that 69 voted Guilty and 52 Not Guilty. Among the latter none perhaps were more attentively observed or more freely discussed than the Duke of Shrewsbury, Dr. Sharp Archbishop of York, and Dr. Compton Bishop of London, so conspicuous in the Revolution as one of its principal leaders and the adviser of the Princess Anne. The Duke of Somerset did not vote at all.

So far then the Ministers prevailed. But when, the Doctor being thus found Guilty, the question arose next day as to the sentence to be passed upon him, the majority dwindled away. Argyle and Isla for example left their friends and joined the other side. The first vote that Sacheverell should be prohibited from preaching for the three years next ensuing was carried only by six. The subsequent motion that he should be incapable during that time of taking any preferment in the Church was lost by one. No higher and more rigorous penalties could be even proposed. There was added only a Resolution that his two sermons should be publicly burned by the hand of the common hangman, and together with them the Decree of the University of

CHAP. XII. 1710.

Oxford passed in July 1683, which maintained the absolute authority of Princes, and which had been alleged by Sacheverell in his defence.

"And so"—exclaims Godolphin as he reports the event to Marlborough—"so all this bustle and fatigue ends in no more but a suspension of three years from the pulpit, and burning his sermon at the Old Exchange!"—Well indeed might the Treasurer look with sorrow to this issue. Well might he rue an impeachment so unpopular in its progress and so ridiculous in its result. Well might he repent his own rashness in overruling the sagacity of Somers and attempting at every hazard to silence the buzz of a single insignificant priest. The fable of the bear that hurled a heavy stone at the head of its sleeping master on purpose to crush a fly upon his cheek is a type of the service which on this occasion Godolphin rendered to his party.

Marlborough on his part was greatly moved. His resentment fell especially on that comrade in arms whom he had so recently befriended. As he writes to the Duchess: "I do with all my heart wish I had not recommended the Duke of Argyle; but that cannot now be helped; nothing is good but taking measures not to be in the power of ungrateful people."

On the other hand the friends of Sacheverell in England considered and with good reason the mild sentence of the Lords as almost equivalent to an acquittal. As such it was celebrated through the country. There were bonfires and illuminations, there were huzzas and addresses, not in London only but in many other places. The zeal for Sacheverell prevailed as we are told especially among the ladies. They flocked in crowds into the churches where he read prayers (since it was only from preaching that he was debarred), they often sent for him to baptize their children, and several were christened of his name. As the spring advanced the oak-leaf—dear to loyal hearts

since the days of Charles the Second—was frequently assumed and worn. And when in June the Doctor set out to take possession of a considerable living bestowed on him in Wales, his journey became a festal progress. Thus at Banbury and again at Warwick he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen in their robes of office; thus at Shrewsbury a crowd of five thousand people poured forth to greet him.[7]

A fortnight after the sentence upon Dr. Sacheverell the Session was closed by the Queen. Her Majesty referred as follows to the recent trial. "The suppressing immorality and profane and other wicked and malicious libels . . . they being an evil complained of in all times, it is very injurious to take a pretence from thence to insinuate that the Church is in any danger from my administration. I could heartily wish that men would study to be quiet and do their own business rather than busy themselves in reviving questions and disputes of a very high nature." From these words it was too rashly concluded that there was no ground for the common rumours of the Queen's inclination to Sacheverell. It soon appeared that Her Majesty's expressions were Ministerial only.

This Prorogation took place on the 5th of April. Next day the Duchess of Marlborough having written to the Queen followed her letter to Kensington, and was, though not very willingly, admitted by Her Royal Mistress. She had explained that her object in forcing an interview was to clear herself of some imputations which she added would have no consequence in obliging Her Majesty to answer. The Queen availed herself of these last words, and amidst the torrent of expostulations and the flood of tears which the Duchess now poured forth, repeated again and again, "you desired no answer and you shall have none." The Duchess in her

[7] Complete History of Europe, 1710, pp. 455 and 494. Burnet's History, vol. vi. p. 11.

CHAP. XII. 1710.

own account of this interview accuses herself of some disrespectful language, but observes that the circumstances might well excuse it. Finally, as she would not go, Her Majesty quitted the room. This was the last time that the Duchess ever saw the Queen.[8]

A week later Queen Anne took a step of considerable boldness. She sent for the Marquess of Kent, Lord Chamberlain, and ordered him to give up his Staff of Office, promising in compensation to bestow on him forthwith the rank of Duke. On the same afternoon, and without consulting any of her Ministers, she conferred the vacant office on the Duke of Shrewsbury. Godolphin, who was then betting at Newmarket, was only apprised of this event so nearly touching his administration by a letter from the Queen. Then was the time to show vigour. Then was the time to throw up office with effect. As Sunderland had written a few weeks before under other circumstances but with the same character to comment upon, "If Lord Treasurer can but be persuaded to act like a man—."[9] But that was the very thing Godolphin could not do. He exhausted his whole energy in one reproachful letter to the Queen, and even before concluding that letter submitted unconditionally to her Royal will. For he says at the end that "For my own part I most humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty I will never give the least obstruction to your measures." Somers and Sunderland, though no doubt with much heartburning, and after them the other Ministers, followed the guidance of their chief. All continued to hold office, tamely hoping that no fresh dismissals would assail them. Thus, according to a jest which was current at the time, the enemies of Passive Obedience now become passive themselves.

A step taken at this period by Marlborough, then in Holland, was, as I conceive, by no means to his credit.

[8] Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 281, ed. 1742.
[9] Letter to Marlborough, dated Feb. 21, 1710.

More than once he had been offered, either indirectly through the Emperor or directly from King Charles, the government of the province he had conquered—the Low Countries. The emoluments of the post, according to Marlborough's own computation, were no less than 60,000*l.* a year.[1] Marlborough however, as we have seen, declined the glittering prize, finding that the very rumour of it roused vehement jealousies at the Hague, and put to hazard the stability of the Grand Alliance. There was no reason to suppose that at this later juncture the jealousies would be less rife, or the Grand Alliance less imperilled. Nevertheless, at this later juncture, the Duke feeling the insecurity of his offices in England, applied for that foreign appointment. He addressed himself to King Charles, through Mr. Craggs, at Barcelona. Charles at first drily replied, that he would give his answer through General Stanhope when the General arrived. The answer as announced to Stanhope was, at last, that His Majesty would be well pleased to grant His Grace's wish, "so it might be with the general consent, and particularly of the Dutch." This, in fact, was only a refusal in a civil form.[2]

During this time the Great Duke at the Hague was intently watching the French negotiations. They had been renewed mainly through the active zeal of Pettekum who went to Paris for that object. But the Dutch States would agree to them only on condition that the King of France should accept the Preliminaries of the preceding year except the thirty-seventh article, which provided for the cession of the Spanish monarchy by Philip within the space of two months; and as to that article Louis expressed his readiness to offer a satisfactory equivalent. On this footing then the conferences of 1709 were resumed. Gertruydenberg was appointed the place for them; and for negotiators the

[1] Letter to Godolphin, July 6, 1706.

[2] Compare in Coxe's Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 387 and vol. v. p. 385.

CHAP. XII. 1710.

States sent as before the Deputies Buys and Vanderdussen, while Louis named the Abbé, afterwards Cardinal, de Polignac and the Marshal d'Huxelles.

In the interviews that followed it was again urged on the part of Louis and with considerable force, that if no fragment however small of the Spanish inheritance as Naples or Sicily were allowed to Philip, the King of France had no prospect of inducing Philip to relinquish Spain. Even with such compensation it was very doubtful that Philip would yield; and if in any case he would not, what power of compulsion was there in Louis's hands? He, the King of France, had already withdrawn his troops; and his feelings revolted at the thought of himself declaring war against his grandson. But he went great lengths in his offers. He proposed to issue an edict recalling his subjects of whatever rank and under severe penalties from the Spanish service. He proposed to contribute by monthly subsidies to the prosecution of the war against Philip if Philip persevered. He was even willing, as a pledge of his good faith, to give up four cautionary towns which should meanwhile be held by the Allies. On the other hand the Allies still insisted that Louis must make himself answerable for the issue, that within the space of two months he must either compel or induce his grandson to resign the throne of Spain.

In the course however of these conferences the Dutch statesmen came to acknowledge to each other that more was claimed from Louis than he had really power to perform. Their thoughts reverted to the first idea of some lure or compensation to Philip, and the Pensionary did not scruple to own among friends that it would be a happy thing if peace could be purchased by the cession of Sicily. Both Godolphin and Somers being consulted by letter were found to be of the same opinion—altogether different from that which they had hitherto with much warmth expressed. On the other

part Count Sinzendorf presented a Memorial at the Hague, declaring in the strongest terms, that the House of Austria would never suffer the smallest portion of the Spanish territories even out of Spain to be ceded to a Bourbon Prince. The like opposition was announced on the part of Savoy. Thus it was clear that even Sicily could not be granted without imminent risk to break asunder the Grand Alliance. "I am afraid"—so writes Marlborough to Godolphin—"the French are not ignorant of these two opinions, by which they are the better able to amuse and cheat us."[3]

In these transactions it is wholly false to allege of Marlborough, as his enemies have sometimes done, that he strove by all the means in his power to prolong the war. So far from it that in his correspondence we find him incline to the conciliatory counsels of Heinsius by complying with which a peace would have been signed. But at this juncture he was greatly on his guard. Looking back to England he felt how much his influence had declined, and how probably his acts might be questioned. Therefore he confined himself strictly within the limits of the instructions he received. As was said by himself at this period he was "white paper" upon which the Treasurer and his friends might write whatever they pleased.

Upon the whole of this matter, waiving for the time the question whether the Allies did not urge their points too far, and looking only to the vast extent of the offers that Louis made, we may be permitted to exult at the proud position which—mainly by Whig policy and by treading in the footsteps of King William—England had now attained. We may echo the contrasted terms in which that position was set forth by Stanhope when he addressed the Lords on the Sacheverell trial. "Our Henrys and our Edwards have justly left behind them immortal fame for having

[3] Letter dated Hague, March 18, 1710.

CHAP. XII. 1710.

broke and subdued in their times the power of France. Queen Elizabeth will be ever glorious for having humbled the pride of Spain. These two great monarchies have each in their turn aimed at the universal monarchy of Europe; and each hath been near compassing it, notwithstanding that the one always opposed the other. But it was never imagined that if once they became united any force in Europe could have disputed with them. Yet we have lived to see those two formidable Powers united and threatening destruction to all the liberties of Europe. It was a task reserved for Her Majesty to encounter this united force. She has attacked and reduced them to sue for peace." [4]

The conferences at Gertruydenberg were continued till near the end of July. But long before that time it became apparent to close observers that they would lead to no practical result. There being meanwhile no cessation of hostilities concluded Marlborough and Eugene prepared for an early campaign. They hoped to effect great things in the Netherlands, and with that view prevailed upon the Emperor to send them considerable reinforcements from the army upon the Rhine. The lessening of that army however led to a change in its chief. His Highness of Hanover resigned a command which he had found both irksome and inglorious, and which thus curtailed appeared to him unworthy of his rank. In his place there was appointed a subaltern General who could do no more than maintain his ground.

So early as the 19th of April and anticipating Villars by three weeks, Marlborough and Eugene joined at Tournay and put themselves at the head of the army which ere long amounted to near 120,000 men. They had before them lines which during the winter the French had fortified with care, and which were held by a strong division under M. d'Artagnan, now a Marshal

[4] Howell, State Trials, vol. xv. p. 133.

of France with the title of Montesquieu. As their first object the Allied chiefs sought to force the lines and besiege the important fortress of Douay. But they had further in view another and more mysterious enterprise in reference to which Godolphin had desired Marlborough to adapt so far as possible his movements. This is more fully explained in a letter not hitherto published. "By Mr. Stanhope's safe hand I may acquaint you that yesterday my Lord Sunderland had a letter from the Town-Major of Calais,[5] by a messenger who had been ten days coming over by way of Ostend because of contrary winds. The business was to represent to the Queen that both Calais and Boulogne with all the whole country were so oppressed and in such misery, the garrisons of these places so weak and the inhabitants so disposed to put themselves under Her Majesty's protection, that he had it in his power and was ready upon the assurance of a good reward to deliver them up to the Queen. He did not desire any help of troops or ships till he had actually made himself master of them, and then he would come over hither himself and remain an hostage for the security of the garrison Her Majesty should think fit to send thither. . . . . The man was sent back immediately with a fair wind and the assurance of the reward he desired."[6]

The French lines were passed without loss since the enemy at once retreated from them, and Douay was then without delay invested. It held a garrison of nearly 8,000 men with an excellent chief, Albergotti, and it made accordingly a valorous resistance. Meanwhile Marshal Villars having set out from Paris and reached his head-quarters at Cambray advanced at the head of an army little if at all inferior to that of the Allies. Three other Marshals of France had joined

[5] Not the Mayor, as stated in Coxe's Marlborough, vol. v. p. 177.

[6] Secret letter, dated March 16, 1710. Coxe's Transcripts, Brit. Mus.

CHAP. XII. 1710.

him in expectation of a battle. Marlborough writes: "If their resolution holds of venturing one, this country being all plains it must be very decisive. . . . . In all the former actions I did never doubt of success, we having had constantly the great blessing of being of one mind. I cannot say it is so now; for I fear some are run so far into villanous faction that it would give them more content to see us beaten. . . . The discourse of the Duke of Argyle is, that when I please there will then be a peace. I suppose his friends speak the same language in England; so that I must every summer venture my life in a battle and be found fault with in the winter for not bringing home peace though I wish for it with all my heart and soul."[7]

Marshal Villars however was resolved not to offer battle unless with some advantage of position over the Allies; and such was precluded by the skill and vigilance of their two chiefs. Thus Douay was left to its fate; and on the 26th of June the garrison having continued its defence to the utmost agreed to a capitulation on favorable terms.

While Marlborough was warring in Flanders his enemies were caballing in England. The Queen, more than ever estranged from her Ministers by the danger to which, as she believed, they had exposed the Church, was wholly guided by Mrs. Masham and through Mrs. Masham by Harley; and the rising ferment in the nation gave confidence both to her and to them. About a month after the appointment of the Duke of Shrewsbury Anne sent for Robert Walpole, who was acting as Secretary at War, and insisted that of the vacant regiments two should be bestowed on Colonel Hill the brother and Mr. Masham the husband of her favourite. It was with difficulty that Walpole obtained a respite till the Great Duke could be consulted. Marlborough was much perplexed though inclining to stand firm.

[7] Letter to Godolphin, June 12, 1710.

But he was plied with earnest representations from Godolphin who hoped to avert a breach in the administration by his compliance. "The question" he wrote "is not so much what is wrong and what is right, but what gives a handle to the Duke of Somerset to tell lies and make impressions." To such arguments Marlborough yielded. He endeavoured to make a virtue of necessity and to claim some merit with Colonel Hill by sending for him at once, and announcing to him his advancement before the commission itself arrived.

Contrary to Godolphin's expectation these timid counsels did not prevent the breach he feared. The secret advisers of the Queen prepared for a more important blow. They determined to strike next at Sunderland, conspicuous alike as Secretary of State and as son-in-law of Marlborough. Yet he was the easier prey since his own ardent temper had done him some disservice. He had altogether failed, since her first objection, to reconcile the Queen to his presence in the Cabinet; and he had frequently offended other members of that Cabinet, even the Great Duke himself, by blunt representations and reproaches. When therefore the rumour grew—for Harley did not conceal his object—that Sunderland would ere long be dismissed, several of his colleagues seemed to be but lukewarm in his cause.

On the 13th of June the expected blow was struck. The Queen apprised Godolphin that she should direct Mr. Boyle as joint Secretary of State to go to his colleague and fetch away the Seals; and next day she wrote again declaring her intention to give them to Lord Dartmouth. This was a nobleman of high character and good ability, the son of a keen high Tory or rather Jacobite, and himself a keen High Churchman.

At these unwelcome tidings a meeting of the men in office was held at the Duke of Devonshire's house. Neither Godolphin nor yet any of the Whig Ministers showed any desire to resign. On the contrary they

CHAP. XII. 1710.

drew up and signed a joint memorial to the Duke of Marlborough entreating him to forego his resentment and to retain his command. This they urged partly for the welfare of England and of Europe as involved in the successful prosecution of the war, and partly because they thought his continuance at the head of the army the only measure that could avert an entire dismissal of the Ministry and a dissolution of the Parliament which they above all things apprehended.

Marlborough, deeply as he was offended, felt the duty of yielding to these representations. But he also felt the importance of the utmost caution in all his further steps. We find him write as follows to the Duchess: "For God's sake let me beg of you to keep your temper, for you are in a country amongst tigers and wolves." And again two days later: "Keep your temper"—no needless caution—"and if Parliament continues we will make some of their hearts ache. I am heart and soul yours."

At home the fall of Sunderland roused to a high pitch the ardour of the opposite parties. The Tories, full of exultation, showered praises on their Sovereign for having with so much firmness asserted her authority. "Your Majesty is now Queen indeed"—so said to her the Duke of Beaufort. In the same spirit there came in loyal addresses in which the determination was declared to support against all gainsayers the cause of Church and Queen. On the other hand the monied men, who were for the most part of the Whig connection, gave signs of alarm. The Funds fell and public credit seemed to be affected. A deputation from the Bank, headed by the Governor Sir Gilbert Heathcote, himself a zealous Whig, waited on Her Majesty to represent the injurious effects which the dismissal of the Secretary had produced, and to deprecate any further changes. Anne replied as follows: "I have for some time resolved to remove the Earl of Sunderland for

particular reasons of State. I have no present intention to make any farther changes, but should I alter any of my Ministers it shall be no prejudice either to the Bank or to the common cause."

Some similar remonstrances came to the Queen from M. Vryberg the Dutch Envoy and Count Gallas the Imperial Minister, and some similar assurances were given in return. It appears from the private correspondence that these remonstrances were in secret prompted by Godolphin. Marlborough, with a truer instinct, foresaw that the further interference of Foreign Powers would serve only to irritate the Queen. He therefore took pains to dissuade it. Still less could he, or his friends in politics, expect any advantage from the headlong anger of his consort. At this very juncture the Duchess had revived an acrimonious correspondence with the Queen, committing in the course of it an unpardonable breach of trust by inclosing a confidential letter which the Duke of Somerset had formerly addressed to herself, and in which the Queen was treated with little ceremony. This correspondence, after much passion on Her Grace's part, came to a close only because the Queen, who for some time past had returned but very short answers, returned at last no answers at all.

In his military movements no less than in his diplomatic correspondence Marlborough saw the necessity of great caution at this time. A single false step and even a trifling failure might lay him open to the machinations of his enemies. At another period he would probably have run some hazard for the object of securing Calais; for although there had been a premature disclosure of the plot within the town there was on foot another project for a landing at the mouth of the Somme and a conquest, as was hoped, of the entire district comprising not only Calais but Boulogne. Now however Marlborough deemed it most expedient if not to relinquish at least to postpone the scheme. He had hoped

CHAP. XII. 1710.

as did Eugene that, after taking Douay, they might besiege Arras. But Villars with great skill drew together his whole army on some new-constructed lines, and the Allied chiefs considered it impracticable either to attack him in that strong position or to invest Arras while he continued to hold it. Obliged therefore to content themselves with a lesser object they sat down before the small town of Bethune, which so bravely prolonged its resistance that it was the 28th of August before its capitulation ensued.

On the frontier of Italy the continued differences between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy withheld the latter from attempting anything considerable; and there is little to record beyond a series of marches and counter-marches on the part of Count Daun and of Marshal Berwick. There had been planned however a descent upon the coast of Languedoc to connect itself if possible with a rising in the Cevennes. A body of troops, about two thousand strong, were accordingly sent by sea from Barcelona and landed at Cette on the 25th of July. Though in great part English they had for their chief a French Protestant, born in that very province; but they received no encouragement, not even in words, from the hill-country, while intelligence came that the Duke of Noailles was marching against them from Roussillon with all the forces he could muster. Within four days they were content to reembark, leaving behind them some fifty men who were taken prisoners. The French, it is said, lost but one grenadier who was killed by chance with his own musket.[8]

It was only in Spain that the war was vigorously waged. There both parties had a strong motive to press it. The fact that all French troops had been withdrawn from Philip's service and summoned home was intelligence most encouraging of course to the Ministers of

[8] Complete History of Europe, 1710, p. 541. Sismondi, Hist. des Français, vol. xxvii. p. 104.

Charles in Catalonia. Now or never must be the time to renew the conquests of 1706 and to plant his standards once more at Zaragoza and Madrid. On the other hand the very same fact—the withdrawal of the French auxiliaries—tended to arouse in Philip's favor the national spirit of Castille. The Spaniards of his party were eager to show if possible that even without the aid of the "Gavachos," as the French in Spain have been always for some unknown reason termed, they could not only hold their own but overpower their antagonists. Even the two Princes, arrayed against each other, and who though opposite in interests were much alike in character —each inclining to uxorious ease and a dreamy indolent seclusion—caught in some degree the enthusiasm of the hour and were disposed to take the field.

General Stanhope, as we have seen, had returned to England for the Session of Parliament. In the middle of March he set out again for his scene of command. First he visited the camp of the Duke of Marlborough, to whom he brought the secret plan for the surprise of Calais. Next he repaired to Genoa, where he intended to await some considerable reinforcements that he had succeeded in obtaining. But being apprised that the enemy had already taken the field he embarked at once with a thousand recruits and moreover a good sum of money—still more welcome to the needy Court of Barcelona. On the 26th of May he reached the camp which Marshal Staremberg had pitched on the left bank of the Segre, and a few days later they were joined by Charles himself, who as titular monarch assumed the chief command. On the day after his arrival there was a general review. According to one eye-witness "everybody says our army makes a very fine appearance, but I believe nobody can tell by the King's countenance when he is pleased." [9]

[9] Journal of Mr. Lenoir, comprised in the Stanhope Papers, and printed in the War of the Succession in Spain, Appendix, p. cxxi.

CHAP. XII. 1710.

Maintaining the opposite bank of the river now stood the Bourbon army; with its King Philip to confront King Charles. This army had been augmented by levies throughout the kingdom, by volunteers from France, and by detachments from the frontier of Portugal. Earnest entreaties had been addressed to Louis that he would allow the Duke of Vendome to lead it, but Louis, as we have seen, could give no such permission while the negotiations at Gertruydenberg were still proceeding. Failing Vendome the command was entrusted to the Marquis of Villadarias, the ablest of the Spanish Generals of the time, while Don Antonio Amezaga, an officer of some note in the former Valencian campaigns, had the special charge of the cavalry.

At the outset the superiority seemed to be with Villadarias. He had already received all the fresh troops that he expected, while the reinforcements due to the Allies were still upon their way. Thus mustering about 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse he much outnumbered the present army of Staremberg and Stanhope, and he crossed the Segre to give them battle, but found them strongly intrenched near the bridge of Balaguer. On the 13th of June the advantage was with them in both a cannonade and a skirmish. In the latter Stanhope, who headed the cavalry, fell upon the rear of the Spaniards which had been incautiously exposed, and a spirited action ensued, the horse of the English General receiving two wounds under him and the enemy at last retiring with the loss that day of several hundred men.

It was not long moreover ere the combatants upon both sides had to sustain the two never-failing incidents of a Peninsular campaign—scarcity of provision and sickness both of man and horse. The journal kept at this time by Mr. Lenoir, the Acting Military Secretary to the British troops, has several entries like the following: "The people of the country that come in say that the enemy ransack all the villages round about for corn for

bread, and oblige them even to beat and grind new corn for them, and are nevertheless in want."—"Provisions, especially flesh, are very dear with us."—"Both armies very sickly and the flux reigning among them."

There was another difficulty which at this time was confined to the Allies. While the regular troops under Philip were wholly Spanish, and with no Frenchman among them beyond some volunteer officers, there was a Babel-like confusion of tongues in Charles's camp. There, besides the English and Germans, were some Catalan levies, some Valencian refugees, several Portuguese regiments under the Conde of Atalaya, and several Dutch under Count Belcastel. There was also in consequence a whole host of jarring pretensions. To reconcile these as far as possible we learn from Mr. Lenoir, that only two days after Charles had joined the army it was "given out in Orders that all officers shall roll by the commission they have from their own Prince."

Through the month of June the two armies were engaged in divers marches and manœuvres. Thus on one occasion, writes Mr. Lenoir: "We have been all À L'EVEILLÉ these five days past, during which time nobody has had their clothes off." In July the Allies were joined by the expected reinforcements, chiefly Germans, which made them as strong in foot as their enemies, although the latter still exceeded them in horse to the amount of twelve or fifteen squadrons. Stanhope pressed eagerly to fight, since as he argued delay would bring further succour to the Spaniards, "whilst" he said "we moulder away by sickness and desertion." Staremberg however and under his guidance Charles also inclined to more dilatory counsels. The question being referred to a Council of War the majority was clear against them. Even then the King and Marshal would only yield so far as to consent that the troops should cross the Segre and Noguera. At that time the Spaniards had called in their outposts

CHAP. XII.

and concentrated their army round the fortress of Lerida.

1710. Having crossed the Segre by the bridge of Balaguer the next point for the Allies was to secure in time the passage of the Noguera. Their vanguard, chiefly of horse and with Stanhope at its head, began its march at midnight. Villadarias had sent out a stronger force to intercept it, but his men were too late. When at nine in the morning of the 27th of July they came in sight of Stanhope they found that he had already three hours before crossed the river and made his stand at Alfaraz. Then they also took post on some high ground at the village of Almenara two miles lower down the stream.

As the day advanced the two armies came up squadron by squadron and battalion by battalion on either side; and both the Kings appeared upon the ground. As Stanhope relates it "the Marshal was pressed several times to attack the enemies' horse which was before us, their foot marching a great distance behind them in the valley where they could be of no use." The Marshal seemed still determined not to hazard anything, and Charles when appealed to by the English General was equally immoveable. At six in the evening however the enemies, with the view of a defiance, marched several of their squadrons down the slope of the Almenara hill, upon which a loud cry of "Shame!" burst forth in the English ranks. Then, though not without some further pressing and consequent delay, the leave to charge them was at last extorted from Staremberg and Charles. It wanted then but half an hour of sunset; and there was not a moment to lose. Stanhope, as bursting free from his shackles, did not pause to muster his whole force but gathered round him in haste only sixteen squadrons, namely six English, four Dutch, and six Palatines; and with these he darted straight at the enemy. Seeing his intention the advanced squadrons of the Spaniards retired up the hill and rejoined

their main body of horse, which Stanhope found to consist of twenty-two squadrons in the first and twenty in the second line; at their head their General of the cavalry Amezaga. As the English neared them the two chiefs closing together engaged in single combat; and Stanhope raising his sword hewed down Amezaga who fell dead from his horse. This exploit, which recalls the warfare of far earlier ages, is modestly omitted by Stanhope in his own relation, but is told in detail by other writers, and portrayed upon the medal which by the Queen's orders was struck in honor of the day.

The ardour of the onset carried everything before it. On the left of the Spaniards their horsemen, mostly new levies, fled at once; on the right the Royal Guards made some resistance but were also borne down. Philip himself was nearly taken prisoner, and only rescued through the intrepidity of his General, Villadarias, and another officer. It is asserted, perhaps a little too confidently, that with two hours more of daylight not one foot-soldier of their army could have escaped. As it was the darkness favoured them. They retired in headlong haste and broken ranks to the walls of Lerida, throwing away their tents and leaving behind them some cannon with great part of their baggage. Their killed, wounded, and missing amounted to 1,500 men. On the other part the Allies had lost 400 only. Both the first and second in command of the English troops, Generals Stanhope and Carpenter, were slightly wounded; and two young officers of great promise, Lord Rochford and Count Nassau, were among the slain.

The consequence of this battle was the immediate retreat of the Spanish army. Philip, leaving only a garrison in Lerida, fell back in great haste first to the line of the Cinca and then to the line of the Ebro. At Zaragoza he was joined by the Marquis de Bay, the victor of La Gudiña in the last campaign, on whom

CHAP. XII. 1710.

dismissing Villadarias he now bestowed the chief command. The Allies on their part followed in the track of Philip by painful marches through an arid country, undergoing in that sultry season great distress for want of water and as great for want of bread. One of themselves describes as follows their last day before they reached the river: "With violent thirst and heat we had not a drop of water; and to incommode us the more the enemy had set fire to a very long heath we were to pass over. It is not to be conceived what we suffered upon such a march, smothered all that day with clouds of ashes, especially the foot. About five in the evening and not before, the horse of both lines got to the Ebro whose waters did not a little refresh us."[1] As Mr. Lenoir writes: "The men have wanted bread but do not complain; and the horses straw and corn and yet hold out."

While thus toiling forward in Aragon, General Stanhope, who commanded a separate division of 2,000 horse, succeeded by a night march to Sarineña in surprising and putting to the rout two regiments of the enemies. During their further retreat he pressed closely on their rear. So near indeed were the two armies that once, as is recorded, King Charles supped in the house in which on the same day King Philip had dined.

The counsels of the Allies at this time were by no means unanimous. Both Staremberg and Charles still inclined to cautious counsels, and showed themselves unwilling to advance. Entreaties and remonstrances to them had to be renewed day after day. Even when they reached the Ebro they would have desired to remain on the right bank. It was with reluctance that they suffered Stanhope and Carpenter to ford the river with the cavalry between Pino and Osera in the night of the 17th of August. But that point being accom-

[1] MS. narrative of the campaigns in Spain, embodied in Tindal's History, vol. v. p. 290.

plished the other Generals who with Stanhope had formed the majority at the Council of War—as Wills from the English, Belcastel from the Dutch, and Frankenberg from the Palatines—repaired to the Marshal's quarters and urged the necessity of supporting their friends beyond the stream. After a long consultation they prevailed. It was agreed that a bridge of pontoons should be constructed as expeditiously as possible, and that the whole army should go over.

The Allies did pass the Ebro accordingly between one and seven in the morning of the 19th, and pursued their march by the left bank in the afternoon. At three o' clock the vanguard of Stanhope and at five the other divisions coming up descried the walls of Zaragoza at but a short league from them and the Spanish army ranged in order of battle with the city on its left. Between the two armies there was still however a deep BARRANCA or ravine, once the scene of a fierce encounter with the Moors and still surnamed BARRANCA DE LOS MUERTOS, the valley of the dead. The day was too far spent and the troops too much exhausted for the Allies to attack at once, especially with this obstacle before them, but the men were eager for a battle on the morrow which the commanders resolved to try. Staremberg, who although timorous in tactics was personally brave and fearless, may have shared as a soldier the ardour which as chief he disapproved.

Both armies continued all night upon their arms. Next morning, the 20th of August, they began a cannonade at daybreak which was continued briskly on both sides until noon. Meanwhile they drew out their lines of battle. Stanhope commanded the left wing of the Allies, which was formed of English, Dutch, and Palatines. There were also eight squadrons of Portuguese who wearing at this time red coats were mistaken by the enemy as Stanhope had hoped for English. It

CHAP. XII. 1710.

was in this quarter and opposite the Allies' left wing that the enemies had brought up their best cavalry and massed their principal strength. The Allies' right wing consisted of Portuguese foot and a part of the German under Count Atalaya. Marshal Staremberg took his station in the centre, as in the opposite ranks did also the Marquis de Bay. As to infantry the two armies were nearly equal, but it is allowed that the Spaniards were superior by nine squadrons of horse. On the whole they have been computed at twenty-five and the Allies at twenty-three thousand men.

On another point also the advantage was with the Spaniards. They were well fed from the adjoining city. The Allies, on the contrary, had out-marched their scanty supplies; and were looking out in vain for a promised convoy of bread. As is noticed by one of the officers: "we lost many men this morning who pressed by hunger and thirst ventured to go and gather grapes in the vale between the two armies and were shot by the enemy's advanced guard.[2] Yet the troops showed no symptom of faintness when at noon came the signal for battle. Marching with alacrity down the Barranca before them, and then up its opposite bank, they bore full upon the enemy.

On the right Count Atalaya soon prevailed. There the Spaniards, mostly new-raised troops, after making one charge were seized with sudden panic and in great part threw down their arms and dispersed. But opposite to Stanhope stood the veteran regiments, the Walloons and Royal Guards. Their first line was broken by the impetuous onset of the English General, but they rallied in a moment and not only recovered their ground, but turning fiercely on the Portuguese cavalry, which formed the extreme left of the Allies, put it to the rout. The Portuguese fled at once from the field and were pursued by some of the Spanish squadrons

[2] MS. narrative embodied in Tindal's History, vol. v. p. 292.

till near a Carthusian convent in the rear of the Allies, where Charles, after riding through his lines in the morning, had retired for the rest of the day.

This unguarded pursuit however left open a gap in their line through which the English General pouring his cavalry retrieved the fate of the battle. The Walloons and Royal Guards stood firm for some time longer but at last were beaten back. Staremberg meanwhile had encountered the Spaniards in the centre with much courage and coolness, but they maintained their ground until the victory on both his wings enabled him to complete his own. With less than three hours fighting the day was everywhere decided. The veteran Spanish regiments left the field still preserving their martial array though grievously thinned in numbers. But great part of the other troops disbanded. King Philip with some attendants spurred away at once in the direction of Madrid. The Marquis de Bay fled to Soria, where he endeavoured to rally the troops.

King Charles that same afternoon entered Zaragoza in triumph, and before the sun had set issued a proclamation restoring the ancient privileges or Fueros of the Crown of Aragon. At eleven that night Colonel Harrison was despatched with the standards taken and the news of the battle to the Queen. He went by way of Genoa and touched at the Duke of Marlborough's camp.

In this battle the Spaniards left upon the field all their colours, all their cannon, all their baggage. Of their army there were nearly four thousand prisoners and five thousand slain or wounded, while the loss of the Allies was only fifteen hundred. Among several accounts of the day we may notice especially that of General Carpenter, written as follows the same evening: "This business and that of Almenara is entirely owing to Mr. Stanhope both for pressing in council and for

CHAP. XII. 1710.

the execution." And again: "All Her Majesty's troops did well and the officers, but no pen can do justice to Mr. Stanhope, having hectored the Court and Marshal into these marches and actions and then commanded himself the advanced body."[3] We have Marlborough's testimony also to the importance of this action. Thus he writes to Godolphin: "Before this you have heard by Colonel Harrison the particulars of the battle in Spain, which is so deciding that it must have given us peace had not the French been heartened by our divisions in England."[4]

These divisions had indeed not only continued but augmented. The dismissal of Sunderland, so tamely borne by the Whigs, gave of course new spirit to the secret advisers of Anne. It was determined no longer to delay the dismissal of Godolphin also. For this the Treasurer unwarily afforded a pretext, having at a Council, the Queen being present, addressed to Her Majesty some peevish words. On the 8th of August in Old Style—the very day before the victory of Zaragoza—he received a note from his Sovereign which thus concluded: "The many unkind returns I have received since (from you), and especially what you said to me personally before the Lords, make it impossible for me to continue you any longer in my service. But I will give you a pension of 4,000*l.* a year; and I desire that, instead of bringing the Staff to me, you will break it, which I believe will be easier to us both."

The great office of Treasurer thus made vacant was not filled up; it was placed in Commission. A Peer of no significance in politics, Earl Poulett, was declared First Lord, but the seals of Chancellor of the Exchequer were given to Harley, who was henceforth regarded and with good reason as Prime Minister. One of his closest

[3] Letter to Robert Walpole, August 20, 1710, as published in Somerville's Queen Anne, p. 639.

[4] Letter dated Sept. 18, 1710. Coxe's Transcripts, Brit. Mus.

friends, Earl Rivers, was despatched at once on a special mission to the Court of Hanover. The main object was no doubt to reconcile the Elector and the Dowager Electress to the recent changes. But Godolphin suspected something more. As he writes to Marlborough, "I imagine the chief errand is to propose to the Elector the coming into your post another year."

The leading Whigs in the administration were at first, as Sunderland says, stunned by so great a blow. They continued to indulge a hope that the dismissal of Godolphin might not be followed by their own. In this hope some at least amongst them were confirmed by secret overtures from Harley, who expressed his desire to effect in some degree a combination of parties. Thus he induced the Duke of Newcastle to continue in the government as Lord Privy Seal, by bestowing on him a rich sinecure office—Chief Justice in Eyre north of Trent. But he could not prevail with Robert Walpole whose rising talents he discerned and whose aid he was anxious to secure. "You are worth half your party," he said.[5] He had interviews in like manner with Somers, Cowper, and Halifax, and pressed them to continue in office, assuring them that there was "a Whig game intended at bottom." Somers and Cowper both were firm against his overtures, and Halifax also after some wavering declined. Of Somers the Queen spoke with much commendation after he had left her service, saying to Lord Dartmouth that he was a man who had never deceived her[6]—a praise which, I think, she could not have bestowed as truly on many other statesmen of that time. Cowper also stood high in the Queen's esteem, as is best shown by the fact that she put back the Great Seal "at least five times" into his hands when he offered to give it up to her Majesty.[7]

[5] Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 32.

[6] Lord Dartmouth's note to Burnet's History, vol. vi. p. 12.

[7] Lord Cowper's Diary, Sept. 22, 1710, as printed for the Roxburgh Club.

CHAP. XII. 1710.

The Whig Ministers however did not in general resign: they waited to be turned out. Nor had they long to wait. Harley finding his private overtures to them rejected fell back wholly on the Tories. With that party he now made a General Election his leading object. About five weeks after the dismissal of Godolphin the Queen came to a Council and called for a Proclamation dissolving the Parliament. Cowper who still held the Great Seal offered to speak, but the Queen rising up forbade all debate and ordered the Writs to be prepared. Thus on the 21st of September was the Parliament dissolved. The Writs were issued five days afterwards, the new Parliament being summoned to meet on the 25th of November.

At the same period, though by degrees, the new administration was appointed. The Great Seal was put into Commission, Harcourt being in the first instance restored to place as Attorney General. But before the next meeting of Parliament he was named Lord Keeper and finally Lord Chancellor. The Admiralty also remained in Commission, Sir John Leake, who had hitherto been a junior, becoming First Lord instead of Orford. Rochester became Lord President in the place of Somers. Buckingham became Lord Steward in the place of Devonshire. Ormond became Lord Lieutenant in the place of Wharton. But above all the post of Secretary of State, left vacant by Boyle, was bestowed on the "all-accomplished St. John"—already eminent for speeches in the House of Commons, of which unhappily not one word has been preserved. But from this his last accession to office until the Queen's demise we have his published correspondence —a worthy monument of his genius and a perfect model, it may be said, of style.[8]

[8] Correspondence, public and private, of Lord Viscount Bolingbroke (from the papers of his Under-Secretary of State, Thomas Hare), 2 vols. quarto, 1798. Mr. Pitt, as I have heard from my father, was fond of referring to this book.

Thus fell the great Whig administration of Queen Anne. Considering its high fame in history it is remarkable for how short a period it endured. The changes in Godolphin's government bringing it round from Tory to Whig took place, as we have seen, by slow degrees; but the latter party can scarcely be thought to have gained an entire ascendency until the resignation of Harley in the spring of 1708. According then to this computation the Whigs were dominant for a period of but two years and a half. So far as regards the great battles of this war, the two parties, looking only to their tenure of power, are entitled to divide the credit between them. The Tories held office during Blenheim and Ramillies; the Whigs held office during Oudenarde and Malplaquet. But as regards the policy which led to these successes the praise, as I conceive, belongs almost wholly to the Whigs. It was that war-policy aimed at the ambition of Louis the Fourteenth which King William had pursued with more spirit than success—that policy which Somers and Somers' friends had consistently maintained—that policy brought at last to a triumphant issue by the genius of Marlborough and Eugene.

In a History by the author of the present work, published so far back as 1832, it was observed, 'how much the course of a century has inverted the meaning of our party nicknames—how much a modern Tory resembles a Whig of Queen Anne's reign and a Tory of Queen Anne's reign a modern Whig."[9] But this view of the subject was warmly controverted by Lord, then Mr., Macaulay. In a justly famous essay he said: "We grant one-half of Lord Mahon's proposition; from the other half we altogether dissent. We allow that a

[9] War of the Succession in Spain, p. 349. Many instances of this singular counter-charge are adduced in the Appendix to the first volume of the History of England from the Peace of Utrecht (p. xlvi. second ed.).

CHAP. XII. 1710.

modern Tory resembles in many things a Whig of Queen Anne's reign... Society, we believe, is constantly advancing in knowledge. The tail is now where the head was some generations ago. But the head and tail still keep their distance.... The stag in the Treatise on the Bathos who 'feared his hind legs would o'ertake the fore' was not more mistaken than Lord Mahon if he thinks that he has really come up with the Whigs."[1]

It is worthy of note, however, that as time passed on Lord Macaulay came on full consideration to adopt the very view which he here opposes. This appears from his second essay on Lord Chatham published eleven years later. Ever fertile of most ingenious illustrations he has now a serpent to allege in the place of a stag. For he writes as follows: "Dante tells us that he saw in Malebolge a strange encounter between a human form and a serpent..... Then a wonderful metamorphosis began. Each creature was transfigured into the likeness of its antagonist..... Something like this was the transformation which during the reign of George the First befell the two English parties. Each gradually took the shape and colour of its foe.... Whatever judgment the Whig or Tory of that age might pronounce on transactions long past, there can be no doubt that, as respected the practical questions then pending, the Tory was a reformer, and indeed an intemperate and indiscreet reformer, while the Whig was conservative even to bigotry."[2]

[1] Edinburgh Review of January 1833, p. 535, and since in the Collected Essays.

[2] Edinburgh Review, October 1844, p. 527, and Collected Essays. The passage referred to in Dante is *Inf.* xxv. 100.

CHAPTER XIII.

1710.

Now began the war of the Elections. Now was shown the angry spirit which the impeachment of Sacheverell had first excited. Handbills were sent round by the High Church party proclaiming both in prose and verse that their favourite institution was in danger.[1] Many took advantage of the cry even without sharing in the sentiment; and the result was, that in the contests the Tories commonly prevailed. They carried their candidates in the centres of popular election, and sometimes even in the strongholds of lordly influence. Thus St. John triumphantly observes in one of his letters, that the Duke of Somerset had been defeated not only in the county of Sussex but in the small town of Marlborough; that Lord Wharton, in like manner, had succumbed both in Buckinghamshire and in Appleby. St. John himself, who had not been in the last Parliament,[2] was returned for Berkshire. Harley, who through his brother had hitherto divided with Lord Coningsby the influence at Leominster, was now enabled to cast the Whig Lord from that borough.

No contest however among the many of this time appears to have stirred up so much interest as that at Westminster. There the constituent body was large and the franchise low. There many great merchants had built houses; there many French Protestant pastors

[1] Here is one of these as given in the Complete History of Europe, 1710, p. 589. It was meant especially for the Middlesex election:

"Join Churchmen, join, no longer separate,
Lest you repent it when it is too late.
Low Church is no Church."

[2] "Since H. St. John has resigned his place, his father refuses to choose him in Parliament"—that is for Wotton Basset. (H. Walpole to Stanhope, April 30, 1708 MS.).

CHAP. XIII. 1710.

—all of them of the Low Church creed—had found refuge, and preached—as then no dominant body would —the principles of toleration. There if anywhere the Whigs were likely to hold their ground. They had selected for candidates, first in his absence General Stanhope, commended to popular favor by his recent victories in Spain; and secondly a gentleman of note in Herefordshire, Sir Henry Dutton Colt. These proved to be the mob-favorites, which the Whigs were not at that time in other large towns. Swift as he drove out with a friend has noted in his Journal to Stella: "October 5. In the way we met the electors for Parliament-men and the rabble came about our coach crying A Colt! A Stanhope! et cetera. We were afraid of a dead cat or our glasses broken and so were always of their side."—But when from empty acclamations they came to solid votes, it was found that the Whigs had gained no advantage from all this shouting, and that the High Church candidates—Cross and Medlicott—were returned by large majorities.

Nor were the Ministry less successful with the Scottish representative Peers. As St. John writes: "The election of Peers is over for the northern part of the island, and you will find by the list which is published that we have every one. Our Parliament will therefore be as entirely in the Queen's interest as her most affectionate servants can desire."[3] It must however have been some drawback to the delight of this northern triumph that, as the Duke of Queensberry declared to Lord Cowper "none of the Scotch Lords of Parliament except Annandale is able to live here without money from the Queen."[4]

The confidential diary of Swift, from which I just now quoted, and which begins at this period, continues thenceforth of the utmost interest and value. He was

[3] To Mr. John Drummond, Nov. 17, 1710.
[4] Lord Cowper's Diary, December 21, 1710.

also engaged in a graver composition—a "History of the Four Last Years of the Queen." But there is very great reason to doubt whether the work under that name, which is commonly ascribed to him, was truly his. Lord Macaulay more than once expressed to me a strong conviction that it was not. It was published for the first time long after Swift's decease, that is in 1758, and then by a hostile and anonymous editor; and there are other circumstances of suspicion that attend it. Be this as it may, it is certainly a mere party effusion, which seems to me as unworthy of confidence upon the one side as for example Cunningham's History upon the other.

While these things were passing in England the campaign was concluded abroad. In the Netherlands there is little to record after the fall of Bethune beyond the siege and the surrender of two small towns, Aire and St. Venant. The latter made little defence, but Aire—its garrison commanded by General de Guébriant—held out most bravely till the 8th of November, having caused to the Allies a loss of 7,000 men in killed and wounded. Then Marlborough placing his troops in winter-quarters repaired to the Hague. Cowper notes in his diary this autumn: "Lord Sunderland showed me a letter from Duke of Marlborough; he resolved to stand and be advised by his friends the Whigs." But Cowper adds this cautious commentary: "Nota bene. This was dated before the Elections of this Parliament known. Query. What opinion after will Duke of Marlborough be of?"

In Spain there were greater events. The victory at Zaragoza had laid Castille open and free to the Allies. Philip indeed had returned to his capital but only to leave it again in all haste for Valladolid accompanied by his Queen and Court and some thousands more of his adherents. There was nothing to bar the way of Staremberg and Stanhope except only the caution of the former. In several councils of war held at Zara-

CHAP. XIII. 1710.

goza in the days that followed the battle the Marshal maintained that, instead of advancing, the Austrian Prince should rather remain in Aragon, seeking to reduce Navarre on the one side and Valencia on the other, and thus combining to himself the provinces in the north and east of Spain. On the other hand the cry of Stanhope was still "Forward!" He argued that by pressing to Madrid, and calling the Anglo-Portuguese to join them from the Portugal frontier they might probably establish Charles upon the throne. After some sharp altercation and much demur, these, the bolder counsels, prevailed.

But the difficulty for supplies was as usual in Spain extreme. On the 26th of August, the day on which the army was to commence its march to Madrid, Stanhope wrote as follows to Mr. Mead, its Paymaster at Barcelona: "We have wanted bread for three days since the battle, and are like to continue to want. If we should want money too I leave you to judge what will become of us notwithstanding our victory. . . . With all the endeavors I have used I have not found credit in this town for a shilling; therefore our only dependence must be from Barcelona. If nothing should have come from Portugal or Italy, yet I hope that upon such an occasion as this your Catalan merchants will open their purses and lend you what you will."

In the days that followed the Allies continued their march through Castille by the route of Calatayud and Guadalaxara, often straitened for want of bread but never encountered by an enemy. From the camp at Siguenza the General wrote again to the Paymaster on the 13th of September. "I hope to be in a week at Madrid where, if we do not find credit, the Lord have mercy upon us, for we have not a shilling in the army. I therefore pray of you not to trust so absolutely to Providence, but to use your utmost endeavours to supply us."

It was, as he expected, on the 21st of September that Stanhope with the vanguard of cavalry came in sight of Madrid. The occupation of that capital by the English after the victory at Zaragoza may be compared to the similar event on the 12th of August 1812 after the victory at Salamanca. But there was this great variation between them. In the second case the English found the warmest greeting; in the first utter silence and cold averted looks. It is well described by General Napier how, as Wellington neared the gates, "the multitude who before that hour had never seen him came forth to hail his approach, not with feigned enthusiasm. . . . but with tears and every other sign of deep emotion they crowded around his horse, hung upon his stirrups, touched his clothes, or throwing themselves upon the earth blessed him aloud as the friend of Spain."[5] How different the scene in 1710 as the Military Secretary of that day has portrayed it. "About half a mile from the town Mr. Stanhope was met by the magistracy. After the usual compliments the General sent them with an escort to the King. We marched on the right of the town and encamped in the walks of La Florida. General Stanhope went from thence to the town-house, but the inhabitants seemed very sorry to see us there, and not one showed any expression of joy."[6]

Still less auspicious was the day when, shortly afterwards, Charles made his public entry with all the warlike pomp he could command. There were a few cries of VIVA! from children among whom money had been thrown, but the people for the most part had shut themselves up in their houses. With a burst of anger the Prince exclaimed that the city was a desert, and refusing to dwell in it repaired to an adjacent country house. Stanhope in his despatches observes, that not one officer in the Duke of Anjou's service, nor any

[5] Napier's Peninsular War, vol. v. p. 194.

[6] Mr. Lenoir's Journal, Sept. 21, 1710.

CHAP. XIII. 1710.

other man of note, had come to join them, and that in Castille they were masters of no more ground than they encamped on. One source, however, of legitimate triumph remained to the British army. For, as Stanhope writes to Craggs, "We have found at (the Church of) Atocha all the colours which were taken at the battle of Almanza."

It was hoped at this time that the junction of the Anglo-Portuguese would fully enable the Allies to overcome their difficulties. On that junction, said Stanhope, "would depend the fate of the campaign." At first there seemed every reason to expect it. Philip had called to his own camp, and for his own more immediate objects his body of troops from the Portugal frontier. At first then, and until Philip's forces moved down upon the Tagus, nothing interposed between the Portugal army and Madrid. There was the prospect also of that army being well commanded. The Earl of Galway had been recalled as soon as his Whig patrons had gone out of office in England, and in his place was named the Earl of Portmore, an officer of reputation. Although the tidings had not yet reached Madrid, it was believed that the new chief had already landed. Before the second week in October, Stanhope had sent off in succession five expresses, urging his advance. "I believe," thus he writes to Craggs, through life his intimate friend, "few men have taken so much pains as I am doing to get a Viceroy over himself;" since, after the junction, Lord Portmore as the senior officer would command in Stanhope's place.

In that event, however, it was Stanhope's wish to return on leave to England. He had already written to Lord Dartmouth to solicit that permission, if the prospects of the army should admit. Thus again to Craggs: "I am impatient to hear from you from England, where I think everybody is run mad, if half what I hear be true. But be it as it will, I pray you to get me home. If my

Lord Portmore joins us, I shall have no longer any business here." And in another letter, "I am impatient to know whether you have got me leave. Without it you will easily believe that I shall not venture nor trust Mr. Harley with my head. I am the more desirous because my Lord Duke desires it; and he is not mistaken in believing that I am his faithful servant." To the Great Duke himself, at the same time, Stanhope wrote, "I can assure your Grace that I desire nothing with so much impatience as to be in England, for many reasons; but especially, that I may have an opportunity of making good what I have often promised, to be faithful to your Grace in all events."[7] Unhappily, however, Lord Portmore had delayed his departure from England, and had not yet arrived in Portugal. In his absence the command had fallen on the Conde de Villa Verde, who as a Grandee ranked in the first class but as a General in the very lowest. He was not to be urged forward even by the plainest considerations of public policy. The letters of Stanhope, the words of Mr. Lefevre the English Resident, assailed the Court of Lisbon equally in vain. From Madrid the Allies as we have seen sent out in succession five expresses; in return to them not one soldier came.

Nor was there any thing to cheer them in the tidings from Philip's camp. The enthusiasm of the Castillians had already in great measure revived his drooping cause. It had quickened his own sluggish though courageous temper. It had brought to his ranks numerous and zealous though but half-trained volunteers. By these and by the troops he drew from Galicia and Biscay, as well as from the Portugal frontier he was enabled to muster an army equal to that which had fought at Zaragoza. A General of established reputation was still wanting. Philip had long been aware that his own service could not afford him any such, and

[7] Letters dated October 4, November 6 and 18, 1710 (MS.).

CHAP. XIII. 1710.

he had earnestly pressed his grandfather that the Duke of Vendome might be permitted to come and command the Spanish troops. Louis however had steadily refused so long as the negotiations at Gertruydenberg were pending, and while there was yet the prospect that he might be called upon wholly to renounce as well as disavow the Bourbon cause in Spain. But as the hope of peace receded the reason of refusal ceased; and Vendome himself, conscious that he had been censured for remissness in his campaign with the Duke of Burgundy, was eager to retrieve his reputation and signalise his prowess in another sphere.

On reaching head-quarters at Valladolid the new chief took at once a bold and vigorous measure. The chief danger as he saw was in the long deferred but still possible junction of the Portugal army with Charles's. To anticipate this Vendome set his own army in motion, and crossing the mountain chain of Guadarrama took post upon the Tagus at the bridge of Almaraz. Here at the head before long of four and twenty thousand men he greatly out-numbered either force of the Allies and effectually prevented any future combination between them.

Nor was this his only enterprise. He had detached some light cavalry to harass the Allies at Madrid. And as Stanhope in consequence complains, "the enemies have had two bodies of horse continually hovering within a day's march of us, and have made our communication with Aragon impracticable otherwise than by sending of strong parties thither, which we have been obliged to do to get up some money."

Still however, in spite of these discouragements Stanhope proposed, and he carried through, a measure of great energy. "We are come to a bold resolution, which is to winter in the heart of Castille. To this end we are fortifying Toledo, where will be the left of our quarters. We shall put the Tagus before us, and

stretch our right to the mountains of Aragon, by which we shall have communication, though troublesome, with Catalonia."[8]

In pursuance of this resolution the Allied chiefs fixed their head-quarters at Ciempozuelos, a village five hours march to the south of Madrid, while they sent forward a strong division under Count Atalaya to hold and intrench Toledo. Madrid itself was relinquished though as it were kept in view. As the troops marched from the gates they had the mortification to hear behind them a joyful peal resounding from all the innumerable church bells of the city.

Scarcely moreover had the Allies taken post at Ciempozuelos before ill news came pouring in upon them from divers quarters. First they had accounts that the Portuguese had been so far disheartened by Vendome's advance, that they had relinquished all idea of further operations even upon their own frontier, and had withdrawn at once to winter-quarters. As Stanhope wrote to the Secretary of State in England: "I cannot help repeating to your Lordship that Her Majesty's troops in Portugal are of no manner of service, nor ever will be of any so long as a Portuguese General shall govern the operations of their army."

Nearly at the same time the tidings came from Catalonia that the province was exposed to some danger from the Duke de Noailles, who had been concerting measures with the Duke de Vendome and threatened an invasion from the Roussillon side. Charles eagerly laid hold of this plea for his own departure, and set off from Ciempozuelos with an escort of 2,000 cavalry. As Stanhope explains it: "The King has this day left this army, so that we shall have one difficulty less to struggle with, I mean his impatience to rejoin his

[8] To Lord Dartmouth, Nov. 6, 1710 (MS.).

CHAP. XIII.

1710.

Queen, which has made him for some time very uneasy, and pressing to break up." [9]

Charles's General was almost as unquiet as Charles himself. On the very day after the Prince's exit Staremberg gave in a paper of several articles to the other chiefs: "Whether" says Stanhope "it arises from a dissatisfaction of this Court or of the several Generals here, or whether only from the motive therein alleged, the want of health, I will not determine . . . ; but if one may give credit to his protestations he is fully determined to leave this country so soon as the army shall be settled in quarters. And I am so much persuaded that he is in earnest that I think no time ought to be lost in fixing upon another General for the next year. He will be very little regretted by the troops, and yet to do him justice I believe it will not be easy to substitute one in his room; for which reason I have endeavoured and will endeavour to keep him here, but as I have already told your Lordship he seems as far as I can judge to be determined." [1]

Other cares and more pressing were at hand. Inferior as were the Allies already to Vendome in the essential arm of cavalry it was no light thing that two thousand of the number should depart as Charles's escort. That event and the defection of the Portuguese induced them to reconsider their plans. Nor was there much time to lose, since a speedy advance might be expected from Vendome. Stanhope still desired to abide by the former resolution and to winter in Castille. But in the Council of War all the other chiefs were against him. They urged that, cut off from their supplies, they could scarcely hope to maintain themselves against a superior force in a most unfriendly country, and a most inclement season. Stanhope could insist no longer; and it was determined to fall back to

[9] To Lord Dartmouth, Nov. 18, 1710 (MS.).
[1] To the same, Nov. 20, 1710 (MS.).

the borders of Aragon and there take up winter quarters. CHAP. XIII.

As the first step in this design the Allied chiefs moved their encampment from Ciempozuelos to Chinchon on the other side of the Henares, while Stanhope rode off with some cavalry to bring back the troops from Toledo. Having arrived with these at Chinchon the retreat of the whole army commenced. But so scanty were the supplies and so hostile the inhabitants that the soldiers could only hope to subsist by marching in separate bodies and sweeping over a wide extent of country. Staremberg led the Germans and Dutch in the centre; Atalaya the Catalans and Portuguese on the right; and Stanhope the English on the left, which, as nearest to the enemy, was the post of principal danger. 1710.

Vendome also was in motion. Accompanied by Philip he had led his army in the first place from the bridge of Almaraz to Talavera. There they met deputies from Madrid announcing that the city was freed from the invaders and impatient for His Majesty's return. The King and Duke accordingly pressed onward, and finding no enemy before them entered the city amidst loud acclamations on the 3rd of December—the same day on which the Allies were commencing their retreat from Chinchon.

But though the Allies marched fast Vendome marched faster still. In his former campaigns he had often been accused of sloth and sluggishness. His late hours of rising—on some days indeed he would not rise at all—his gluttonous indulgence at meals, and his gross addiction to the worst of vices, had cost his countrymen some severe disasters. Now on the contrary, roused by the occasion, and eager to vindicate his fame, he showed almost incredible diligence. While the infantry straight from Talavera marched over the Henares by the Guadalaxara bridge, Vendome, still in company

CHAP. XIII. 1710.

with Philip, coming from Madrid to another point on that river then in flood, plunged in and swam across at the head of the cavalry. From the opposite bank they still pressed forward with the light troops, horse and foot, leaving the rest to follow; and thus they overtook the left wing of the Allies.

That left wing under Stanhope consisted of eight battalions and as many squadrons; all of them English except only one battalion of Portuguese, and even that commanded by English officers. Thinned as were both battalions and squadrons by this toilsome campaign the total numbers did not exceed 5,500 men. It had been agreed with Staremberg that he and Stanhope should proceed in parallel lines. Stanhope was to march in four days from Chinchon to Brihuega and there halt to give his troops some rest and to bake for them some bread, while Staremberg did the like at Cifuentes, the two places being about five hours march from each other. Brihuega is a town of great antiquity; the Roman Centobriga, built on the river Tajuna and with high uplands around it on every side but one. For its defence it had only a decaying Moorish wall.[2]

In pursuance of this plan Stanhope had entered Brihuega late at night on the 6th of December. Next day he employed himself in collecting corn and in baking loaves. So adverse to him was the disposition in all Castille that neither at Brihuega nor through his four days' march did he receive the slightest intimation of the enemy's advance. It was therefore with surprise that, on the morning of the 8th, he observed some of their horse on the brow of the neighbouring hills. His

[2] Some account of the affair at Brihuega, as also of *Milord Peterbourg* (Peterborough), and of *El General Estanop* (Stanhope), is given in a history of the neighbouring townlet of Orche, called on the titlepage *Ilustre y leal Villa* and also strangely enough *Señora de su misma*. The volume was printed at Madrid in 1748, the author's name *Fray Juan Talamanco*. It was shown me by my friend Mr. Ford, and is, I believe, extremely rare.

surprise increased when, early in the afternoon, there appeared some infantry also. "Till that time" he writes "nobody with me, nor I believe did the Marshal imagine that they had any foot within some days' march of us. And our misfortune is owing to the incredible diligence which their army made; for having, as we have since learnt, decamped from Talavera on the 1st of December they arrived before Brihuega the 8th, which is forty-five long leagues." [3]

In face of a force so superior to his own Stanhope could not attempt to march out of Brihuega and seek a junction with Staremberg. He despatched one of his aides-de-camp full speed to apprise the Marshal of his danger, gave a becoming answer to a summons of surrender which was sent him by Vendome, and prepared for a resolute defence until succour should arrive. All that night his men were most actively employed in barricading the gates and making loopholes for musketry in the houses.

Before sunset there had already come up 6,000 of the enemies' cavalry and 3,000 of their foot. Vendome sent the Marquis of Valdecañas with one division to seize the bridge over the Tajuna, which was outside the town; and he completed his investment of the latter. Towards midnight he was joined by several more bodies of his troops with twelve pieces of the battering train. These he at once disposed in due order, and at day-break of the 9th of December they began to play. Two breaches were soon made in the old Moorish wall. Through these the Spaniards poured in. But the English had cast up intrenchments behind the breaches, as also barricades across the streets, and they continued to defend themselves with the utmost intrepidity. Several times were the assailants driven back in disarray.

After some hours of sharp conflict a short pause ensued. But at three in the afternoon Vendome having

[3] To Lord Dartmouth from Valladolid, January 2, 1711.

CHAP. XIII. 1710.

sent a second summons, which was rejected like the former, gave orders for a general assault. Besides playing field-pieces from the hills which were so close as to command most of the streets, and besides renewing the onset in the two breaches, he sprung a mine under one of the gates. Some of his men moreover found means to break passages through the wall into houses which adjoined it; and there they established themselves in force before they were perceived. The English however with unabated spirit still fought on. Still on every point they beat back their assailants. How many an anxious look must they meanwhile have cast to the opposite heights on which they expected every moment to see Staremberg and his army appear! Hour after hour passed and no sign of such succour came. Still worse was the rumour now rife among themselves, that their own ammunition had begun to fail.

Even then the resistance of these stout soldiers did not cease. "Even with bayonets"—so writes Stanhope to Lord Dartmouth—"the enemy were more than once driven out by some of our troops who had spent their shot; and when no other remedy was left the town was preserved some time by putting fire to the houses which they had possessed, and where many of them were destroyed . . .; and when things were reduced to the last extremity, that the enemy had a considerable body of men in the town and that in our whole garrison we had not five hundred men who had any ammunition left, I thought myself obliged in conscience to save so many brave men who had done good service to the Queen and will I hope live to do so again. So about seven of the clock I beat the chamade and obtained the capitulation of which I send your Lordship the copy."

In this capitulation the enemy had been willing to grant most honorable terms; and on these terms then did Stanhope and his gallant little army become prisoners of war. Their defence of Brihuega had cost them 600

men in killed and wounded, while that of the Spaniards was acknowledged by themselves as double, and may even have amounted to 1,500 which was Stanhope's computation. CHAP. XIII. 1710.

The delay of Staremberg on this occasion is not easy to explain or excuse. The aide-de-camp sent to him by Stanhope in the afternoon of the 8th must have reached him in the course of that night. Had Staremberg next morning set in movement the troops under his own immediate orders he might have been in sight of Brihuega before noon. It is most probable that he forbore from marching until he could call in his right wing. It is certain at all events that it was only on the forenoon of the 10th that his vanguard appeared. As he heard no sound of firing and received no answer to his signals he rightly concluded that Stanhope had already surrendered. Under these circumstances he desired to avoid a general engagement, but the impetuosity of Vendome forced it on. Staremberg finding that he could not resume his retreat unmolested drew off his troops to the neighbouring plain of Villa Viciosa, and disposed them to the best advantage, his left behind a steep ravine, and his right with squadrons and battalions interlaced. From the loss of Stanhope the superiority of numbers was greatly against the Allies. They had but thirteen thousand men to oppose to twenty, but on the other hand they held the stronger position and they would encounter an enemy exhausted by many days' long marches and by one day's hard fight.

Vendome however would not postpone the onset beyond that afternoon. By his advice Philip put himself at the head of the Royal Guards, Spanish and Walloon, and with them rode fiercely up against the left wing of the Allies. So bold was the charge and so inspiriting the presence of the Sovereign that he threw it into utter confusion. The Allies in this quarter lost their baggage, which some of the Spaniards turned

CHAP. XIII. 1710.

aside to plunder; and three of their best chiefs, the Dutch Generals Belcastel and St. Amant, and the Palatine General Frankenberg were slain. But the veteran skill of Staremberg retrieved the day. Bringing up some of his best troops by a movement in flank he made a counter-charge upon the centre and left wing of the enemy. There the Spanish infantry, in great part weary and foot-sore, could offer no steady or sustained resistance. On this point therefore he was enabled to break their first and beat back their second line. Vendome and Philip at these tidings relinquished their success upon the right and hastened back to the endangered centre; but there found the rout so general that they looked upon the whole battle as lost, and issued orders for retreat in the direction of Torrija.

At this critical conjuncture one of Vendome's best officers, the Marquis de Valdecañas, putting himself at the head of the reserves and combining with them some of the Walloon cavalry, succeeded in rallying his countrymen and arresting the progress of his foe. Thus the conflict was resumed and waged with obstinate valour until closed by the early coming of the winter night. Both chiefs—Staremberg as well as Vendome—had signalised themselves by their courage and conduct, both at the close maintained a strong position, and both, it may be said, equally divided the honours of the day. The killed and wounded in each army amounted to nearly the same number—namely from three to four thousand; and while Staremberg might boast the capture of some cannon, Vendome might boast the capture of some standards. Therefore although the victory was claimed in the most confident terms by both commanders, and although services of thanksgiving for it were offered up alike in the churches of Madrid and in those of Barcelona, the battle was in truth undecided.[4]

[4] Of this battle there is a very fair account in a letter written by Philip to his Queen and published in the appendix to the Mémoires de Ber-

CHAP. XIII.

1710.

But if even the discomfiture of Vendome had been more complete, Staremberg was not in a condition to profit by it. During the night he spiked his own and the Spanish cannon for want of means of transport, and before daybreak resumed his retreat from Castille. On his way, though not pursued by Vendome, he was harassed in his hasty marches by frequent attacks of irregular horse; he sustained a further loss of several hundred men; and finding that he could make no stand in Aragon fell back to Barcelona. He brought back to Charles an army reduced to 7,000 men—a grievous contrast to his numbers when the campaign began. Gloomy was the retrospect but no less gloomy the view before him. He learnt that the Duke of Noailles had already invaded the province and invested the important city of Gerona, which Staremberg had no means of effectually relieving. Vendome on the other hand, as though entirely victorious, had advanced to Zaragoza, where Philip established his Court and was rejoined by his Queen.

The news of Brihuega and of Villa Viciosa, but the former more especially, diffused of course great joy at Madrid and through all the people of Castille. How welcome the thought that the English HIJOS DE LUTERO (sons of Luther), were now captives—the same English whom they had so recently beheld as conquerors! Nor did a holy legend fail to spring up in that congenial soil. It was alleged that the Allies at Toledo (who, by the way however, were mostly Portuguese) had there committed divers acts of sacrilege and profaneness in the churches, wholly disregarding the authority of St. Leocadia, the patron Saint of that city. But St. Leocadia had soon avenged herself. She had compelled the intruders to capitulate on the 9th of December—the very day held sacred to her worship in the Church's calendar. Thus writes of it a zealous Spaniard, the historian of

wick, vol. ii. p. 361; and another not quite so even-handed from Staremberg to Charles in the Complete History of Europe, 1710, p. 617.

CHAP. XIII. 1710.

those times, the Marquis de San Phelipe, "Heretics may laugh, but misdeeds are not forgotten, and there is no such thing as chance in the decrees of Providence." [5]

It might in like manner have beseemed the sanctity of Leocadia had she also inflicted some penalty upon the French Marshal for the breach of faith which ensued. The capitulation of Brihuega, as he signed it, stipulated that the officers and men who laid down their arms should not be separated from each other but be conveyed to some towns near the coast, there to remain until they were exchanged. By order of Vendome, on the contrary, the officers were quartered at Valladolid and other inland cities, and the men dispersed in villages and there exposed to various acts of ill-treatment and indignity, as to which the earnest remonstrances of Stanhope could obtain but a tardy and partial redress.

Before I leave the events of this year in Spain I may observe that, strangely chequered as they were with good and evil fortune, they appear to have strongly impressed the imagination of the Spaniards. This is shown not merely nor so much by the legend of Leocadia already mentioned, but above all by the multitude of popular ballads and broadsides which this year produced among them, while scarce any, as I believe, are to be found for a long period either before or since. All these ballads are on the Castillian side, and love to remind their readers that the Allies were in great part heretics. Luther and the Devil are often brought into play. Staremberg is commonly mentioned by his Christian name of Guido, as being no doubt more metrical; Stanhope appears as Estanope; and Queen Anne as Doña Ana; and there are frequent attempts at a jingle on these rhymes. [6]

[5] *Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, tom. ii. p. 51.

[6] Here is one sample:

Quien nuestras leyes profana?—ANA.
Quien nuestro cuchillo ha sido?—GUIDO.
Y de la Fè quien fu tope?—ESTANOPE.

Another of these conceits is in the *Soneto à la entrada del Señor Archiduque en Madrid y à las tropas auxiliares de Demonios.* Here the point seems to be that every line is to con-

CHAP. XIII. 1710.

In England the new Parliament having met as summoned on the 25th of November, the Commons in their very first act manifested the colour which they derived from the recent Elections. They chose for Speaker without a contest William Bromley, one of the members for the University of Oxford, and one of the foremost men in the High Tory ranks. On the 27th the Queen in person delivered the opening Speech. "My Lords and Gentlemen" she said "I shall in the plainest words tell you my intentions. . . . I am resolved to support and encourage the Church of England as by law established; to preserve the British Constitution according to the Union; and to maintain the Indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences. And that all these may be transmitted to posterity, I shall employ none but such as are heartily for the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover; the interest of which Family no person can be more truly concerned for than myself." To these expressions on Home policy there were added some others on Foreign, declaring that to carry on the war in all its parts, but particularly in Spain, with the utmost vigour, was the likeliest means with God's blessing to procure a safe and honourable peace for us and all our Allies.

These sentiments, held to indicate the policy of the new Prime Minister, appear to have given general satis-

clude with the same syllable *te*. Thus:

El Señor Archiduque de repen-
A reynar se nos viene à nuestra Cor-
A su lado trayendo por consor-
Herege Estanope, con su gen-
Entra, gobierna, y manda diligen-
Consejos forma, ofrece passapor- &c. } TE

But the most spirited perhaps of these numerous effusions is an imaginary *Carta de Estarember à Estanop*, with Estanop's reply—

Digo es esta la conquista
Del Señor Carlos Tercero?
Mas le durò à Sancho Pança
Su imaginado Govierno.

. . . . . .

Querias hazer Serrallo
Para passar este invierno
Para tener conveniencias
De un obispo de Lutero?

Several of these pieces are bound together in a book entitled *Papeles varios*, now at the British Museum; and a volume with many others was purchased by me at the sale of Lord Stuart de Rothesay's library in June, 1855.

CHAP. XIII. 1710.

faction. There was only some demur that the word "Indulgence" had been substituted for the better known word "Toleration." Loyal Addresses in answer were voted without opposition in both Houses; and Harley might indulge the prospect of a long and prosperous sway.

On one point only did the Opposition that day attempt to raise its banner, and that but very feebly. Lord Scarborough in the House of Peers moved a vote of thanks to Marlborough for his services in the last campaign. This was opposed by the Duke of Argyle, since in truth the last campaign had not been marked by any considerable exploit; but the Ministers had no desire to press the debate upon that issue, and on a whisper from one of them to the Duke of Devonshire the question was allowed to drop until the General's return. As St. John wrote next day to his friend Mr. Drummond: "One would imagine that Scarborough had been hired by somebody that wishes Lord Marlborough ill to take so unconcerted and so ridiculous a measure."

The Queen and her Ministers were at this time the less inclined to show the Duke any special sign of favor as being grievously harassed by the angry passions of the Duchess. To such lengths did she carry her resentment at this very juncture, that she declared her intention to publish the Queen's letters to herself written in the utmost unreserve during her many years of Court favor. Anne more than once desired that her "scribbles," as she termed them, should be returned to her, but the Duchess declined to comply with this surely not unfair request. St. John in the same letter to Mr. Drummond, which was just now quoted, observes that the new Ministers are very willing to act cordially with Marlborough "the great man" but only on certain conditions which St. John goes on to explain: "If he comes home and disengages himself from the Whigs,

and if he puts a stop to the rage and fury of his wife."

There was now another cause of difference. Three General officers serving with the army in Flanders, by name Meredith, Honeywood and Macartney, carried their attachment to Marlborough so far that at a convivial entertainment, not satisfied with drinking his health, they drank also "Damnation and confusion to the new Ministry and to those who had any hand in turning out the old."[7] Such an insult could scarcely pass unpunished. On being apprised of it the Secretary at War wrote to inform the three gentlemen that the Queen had no further occasion for their services. They were allowed as an act of grace to dispose of their commissions; still however Marlborough was deeply chagrined. Nor was the Duke less displeased at another incident of the same period. His especial favourite General Cadogan was recalled from the post of Envoy to the States both at Brussels and at the Hague; and in his stead was appointed another officer, the Earl of Orrery, whom the Duke did not love.[8]

Marlborough himself having landed at Solebay reached London in the afternoon on the 28th of December. As he passed through the city he was loudly cheered by the people. There were shouts: "God bless the Duke of Marlborough! No Popery! No wooden shoes!"—the last a frequent taunt in that century against the SABOTS of the French. Fearing that the Queen might be offended at these outcries, Marlborough went in the first instance to Montague House, and waiting till the multitude had dispersed, proceeded in a common hackney coach, so as to shun observation, to wait upon Her Majesty at St. James's. His reception was civil

[7] Tindal's Hist. vol. v. p. 337. We are also told of their "contemptuous gestures against Harley." (Coxe's Marlborough, vol. v. p. 361.)

[8] "Against whom" says Coxe in the same passage "he had particular objections." What these were is not stated.

CHAP. XIII.

1710. but cold. The Queen said: "I am desirous you should continue to serve me and will answer for the conduct of all my Ministers towards you." But she added "I must request you would not suffer any Vote of Thanks to you to be moved in Parliament this year because my Ministers will certainly oppose it." The Duke made no rejoinder to this last request but said in reply to the former: "I shall always be ready to serve your Majesty if what has recently passed should not incapacitate me." He added that he was neither covetous nor ambitious, which the Queen afterwards repeated with a bitter comment of her own to St. John.

On the following days the General received visits of compliment from all the Ministers except Harley who sent him a message to desire that their first meeting might occur as if by accident at the Council or the Court. It seems that Marlborough had come back to England in almost the very frame of mind that St. John had desired. St. John gave an account of his visit to Swift almost immediately after it took place. "The Duke" he said was lamenting his former wrong steps in joining with the Whigs.[9] This may be deemed not far from an overture to rejoin his old friends the Tories. To Dartmouth he talked in nearly the same strain. "I hope" he said "you will do me good offices with the Queen. I know she has an entire confidence in you and I am sincerely glad of it." Words surely of no slight significance as coming from the father-in-law of Sunderland whom Dartmouth had displaced. But further still and yet more surprising Marlborough went on to complain of the conduct of his wife. "She has acted strangely" he said "but there is no help for that; and a man must bear with a good deal to be quiet at home."[1]

1711. Peace in Europe may be purchased too dearly—such

[9] Journal to Stella, Dec. 31, 1710.

[1] Note by Lord Dartmouth to Burnet's History, vol. vi. p. 33.

was at the time the very just feeling of Marlborough and his friends. Perhaps the same remark might be applied to "quiet at home." But even in the more difficult domestic sphere Marlborough in some degree prevailed. Within the first days of the new year he had wrought so far with the Duchess as to bring a conciliatory message from her also. "Lady Marlborough offers, if they will let her keep her employments, never to come into the Queen's presence."[2]

Here then was perhaps an opening. Here then it might be possible in a cordial spirit to welcome Marlborough as an old friend back again into the Tory ranks. Such a course was commended to the Ministers both by policy and patriotism—by policy as detaching from the opposite party its pillar and mainstay—by patriotism as enabling them to leave at the head of the army, not in half-hearted adherence but in full and thorough concert of measures, the man who beyond all possible comparison could command that army best. It would have bound him to exert according to their wishes his great influence with the Continental Powers and brought the Allies more readily to moderate terms of peace. The Queen was indeed much incensed and with good reason against the Duchess. But Her Majesty might have been prevailed upon to leave the Duchess in possession of her Court-places, or of one or two of them, provided Her Grace would undertake never again by right of office to intrude herself into Her Majesty's presence. Much, very much, might depend upon this feminine question, since the Duke had announced his positive determination of resigning if the Duchess were dismissed.

A reconciliation with Marlborough—if sought by himself—was therefore I conceive both the interest and the duty of the Ministers. It was just what the Tories should have wished for—it was just what the Whigs ap-

[2] Journal to Stella, January 12, 1711.

CHAP. XIII. 1711.

prehended. Such, as we may gather from his private Diary, was Swift's opinion. "I think" he adds "our friends press a little too hard on the Duke of Marlborough." To that opinion it is probable that St. John also inclined. But Harley could not resist the pleasure of humbling the great chief who had humbled him; and the Ministers as a body were hurried onward by the mean spite of their chief. It was resolved to keep no measures with the Duke and to proceed to extremities with the Duchess.

The scene in Parliament may be first considered. Lord Peterborough had now been appointed to a secret mission at the Court of Vienna, the object being partly to satisfy that restless spirit, and partly to promote a better understanding between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy; and he was on the very point of setting out, his servants indeed already at Greenwich ready to embark. But in the first days of January the Queen having sent a Message to the House of Peers relative to the ill news from Spain, their Lordships resolved to investigate the former miscarriages in that country resulting in the battle of Almanza. For this inquiry the presence of Peterborough was desired, and the Queen was addressed that he might be directed to postpone his journey. Galway had already come back from Portugal. There ensued a long train of recrimination between the two Earls, and three sharp debates in which many other Peers took part. Marlborough did his best for Galway. "It is somewhat strange" he said "that Generals who have acted to the best of their understandings and lost their limbs in the service should be examined like offenders about insignificant things." But not the least regard was shown to the Duke's opinion. Finally, as desired by the Government, there was a Vote of Thanks to Lord Peterborough for his "great and eminent services;" and there was a Vote of Censure on Lord Galway for having given the right to the

Portuguese out of their own country. There was also another Vote of Censure on the late Ministers for having, as was alleged, contributed to the disappointment at Toulon by urging at the same time an offensive war in Spain. In this last Censure Marlborough himself was plainly involved and he was one of the Peers who signed a Protest against it.

Still more mortifying to him was the scene at Court. The Queen had given a peremptory order for the Duchess of Marlborough to send back her Gold Key in token of her resignation of her offices. The Duchess endeavoured through several channels to soften the Royal displeasure but in vain. At last, on the 17th of January, the Duke obtained an audience for that object. He began by presenting a letter from his consort couched in terms of great humility. Anne after reading it said only "I cannot change my resolution." Marlborough then addressed Her Majesty in the most moving terms, entreating that the Duchess might still be left in possession of her offices, or that at the very least a longer interval of time should be allowed her. He threw himself down upon his knees and continued with passionate eagerness to urge his pleas for place. The Queen answered as before, that she would have the Gold Key and that within two days.

Finding the Queen inexorable Marlborough rose from his knees and resuming his composure adverted to another matter which he said was very painful to him—the dismissal of the three officers in Flanders. But the Queen broke off the conversation abruptly by exclaiming, "I will talk of no other business till I have the Key." The Duke would yet have lingered, but the audience had already lasted an hour; and so with a heavy heart he took his leave.

With a heart still heavier perhaps he next appeared before his consort and told her that the Queen expected the Gold Key. The Duchess with great passion took

CHAP. XIII. 1711.

the Key from her side, and threw it into the middle of the room bidding him take it up and carry it to whom he pleased.[3] That very evening then Marlborough returned to the palace to deliver the Key into the Queen's own hands. Nothing further of any moment then passed between them. The Duchess however was not withheld by her own vehement anger from taking a step which I have elsewhere and by anticipation related. She sent in to the Queen an account of the sums which she would have received during the last nine years had she at their outset accepted Her Majesty's offer of an additional pension from the Privy Purse. The Queen with great generosity—far greater perhaps than the occasion required—directed the whole of this money to be paid her.

Of the three great offices held by the Duchess of Marlborough two—as Mistress of the Robes and Groom of the Stole—were conferred on Her Grace of Somerset, while Mrs. Masham received the Privy Purse. Shortly afterwards the Duchess had also to relinquish for the use of her successors her apartments at St. James's Palace. She could only console herself by giving orders to tear down and carry away the brass locks from the doors and the marble chimney-pieces from the walls. It is gratifying to find that Marlborough disapproved this spoliation and wrote from the Continent to forbid its progress. As it was it had well nigh exhausted the patience of the Queen, who threatened to stop the monthly payments for the works at Blenheim. "I will build no house for the Duke of Marlborough" she said "when the Duchess has pulled mine to pieces."

It was free to the Duke upon the Duchess's dismissal from office to carry out the determination which he had

[3] All the rest of the transaction is derived from the Duchess's own narratives in Coxe's Life (vol. v. p. 410–7). But this last point of her violent demeanor rests on the authority of Lord Dartmouth, who had it from "one very intimate in the family" (note on Burnet's History, vol. vi. p. 32).

CHAP. XIII.

1711.

expressed in that event and to throw up his command. Meanwhile however he had received several letters from his friends abroad, and above all from Heinsius and Eugene, strongly deprecating his retirement as likely at that juncture to dissolve the Grand Alliance and ruin the common cause. Godolphin and others of his friends in England concurred in those representations. It is certain that for the great General of the age to continue at the head of the army in spite of many mortifications was a course to be fully justified by love of country and devotion to the public service. It is certain also that to relinquish a post of vast power and no less vast emoluments is a course that seems very far less inviting when no longer viewed as contingent or uncertain but as close at hand and immediately impending. Under the influence of these motives, or of some of them, Marlborough signified to the Ministers that he was willing to retract his resolution and to serve in the next campaign. In answer he was assured that he should be well supported and his army be well supplied. But no wonder that he was impatient to quit the scene of his mortifications. So early as the 18th of February we find him set out from London for the Hague.

The Ministers were not solely intent on the prosecution of the war. They had also on foot an overture of their own for peace. There seems no good reason why such an overture might not be made openly and frankly and in concert at least with Holland. It would be time enough to separate from our Allies if during the negotiations their demands should be found excessive or unjust. But a dark and tortuous course was at all times the most consonant to the character of Harley. For his instrument on this occasion he selected a priest named Gaultier, who had been Chaplain to Marshal Tallard during his embassy to England. Since then he had continued to reside in London, from whence he was able to send at intervals secret intelligence to the

CHAP. XIII. 1711.

Court of France. There also he became well known to the Countess of Jersey, herself a Roman Catholic, and to her husband, who was in secret a warm friend of the Pretender. The interest of that person was almost as dear both to Gaultier and to Torcy as that of Louis the Fourteenth, or in truth it was the same. For the greater security of their intelligence they had agreed, besides other cant names for the English Ministers, to designate in their letters the young Prince as Montgoulin and Queen Anne as Madame Protose. They also, as was usual with the Jacobite intriguers down to a much later time, frequently adopted as a blind the language of trade.

Here are some extracts from this most secret correspondence in the autumn of 1710: "Are you aware" writes Gaultier to Torcy "that Madame Protose has a very tender feeling for M. de Montgoulin, and looks upon him as though her own child? Mr. Rolland (Earl of Jersey) assures me that all the changes she is now effecting are made partly for the love of him; and that Messieurs Morand (Duke of Shrewsbury), Vivant (Duke of Buckingham), and Vanderberg (Mr. Harley) are working for him only, with the view of restoring what was formerly taken from him, and making good the wares which had been confiscated."

And again, three days later: "I must refer to what I have already had the honour of communicating to you in regard to M. de Montgoulin. Our new merchants have a very great consideration for him; and it seems to me that if he had the same way of thinking as they have, there would be no difficulty of giving him back what belongs to him, that is, after the decease of Protose." It is easy to perceive what in this place Gaultier desires to indicate by "the same way of thinking." He refers to the Roman Catholic religion held by the young Prince, which was held, and justly, as the main obstacle in the way of another Restoration.

A few weeks later Gaultier has still more explicit tidings to announce: "Two days back M. Rolland (Earl of Jersey) gave me of himself occasion to speak to him openly respecting M. de Montgoulin. I found him most fully disposed to do that person service; and he told me that he had already begun, with two or three of his partners, to frame a plan that cannot fail of success to prosper the affairs of the aforesaid Montgoulin. As soon as this plan is perfected it will be placed in my hands, but meanwhile it is desired to learn what amount of confidence you have in me, and how far you wish my friend and myself to discuss this question together. We agreed that I should write to you about this to-day, and that you would let him know your sentiments upon it by the same channel as before."[4]

It is painful to trace in this correspondence how party spirit may prevail over love of country. We find the Earl of Jersey, Peer of the Realm and sworn Counsellor of the Queen, sending advice to the Ministers of a Sovereign with whom Her Majesty was at war, and pointing out by what means the successes of her Generals might be most effectually arrested. We find him, as his conversation is reported by Gaultier, lamenting the recent victory of Almenara as likely to impede the conclusion of a peace upon the basis that Philip should continue to hold the throne of Spain: "Surely" added Jersey "it would be good policy in you to press the Archduke closely and without loss of time, and to confine him if possible within the walls of Barcelona. And then, why not attempt to detach the Duke of Savoy from the Grand Alliance, considering his causes of complaint against the Court of Vienna?"[5]

Such being the terms of confidential intercourse on

[4] Letters from London (originals in French) of October 3 and 7, and December 28, 1710, all New Style. (Archives des Affaires Étrangères.)

[5] Letter dated September 5, 1710, N. S.

CHAP. XIII. 1711.

which Gaultier stood with Jersey, it is no wonder that the Earl should recommend him as a man of trust to Harley. He was now directed to go to Paris on a secret mission, though for greater security with only verbal instructions delivered to him by Lord Jersey. He was to state in confidence to the French Ministers the desire of the English for peace, and the suggestion that Louis might himself propose to renew the negotiation in Holland.

In pursuance of these instructions, Gaultier landed at Nieuport on the 15th of January, and under the name of Delorme made his way to Versailles. There he had an interview with M. de Torcy, whom he greatly surprised by the sudden prospect of a peace—"a thing," says Torcy in his Memoirs, "most necessary to us, and most anxiously wished for, but of which at that time we had not the smallest expectation."—"Asking us," he adds, "whether we wished for peace was like asking a sick man whether he wishes to recover." Gaultier added that so far from seeking to entangle the French Minister by any written declarations, he desired on his return to England to take with him no credential beyond a short note of compliment.[6]

It is not hard to imagine how highly pleased with these overtures were both Torcy and his Royal Master. But they were far too politic to show their joy in unmeasured terms. It was resolved, on full deliberation, to make answer that the King was justly offended at the inveterate spirit shown by the Dutch in the late negotiation, and that it would not be consistent with his dignity to renew it by again applying to them. The King however would most cheerfully accept the mediation of England. He would lay before the English

[6] "Donnez-moi, dit-il, une lettre pour Milord Jersey; écrivez-lui simplement que vous avez été bien aise d'apprendre de moi qu'il était en bonne santé. . . . Cette lettre seule sera mon passeport et mon pouvoir." (Mémoires de Torcy, vol. iii. p. 21.)

Ministers the concessions he was willing to make, and leave it to them whenever they thought fit to impart his offers to the Dutch. CHAP. XIII. 1711.

With this answer as verbally given Gaultier took his departure. After an interval he reappeared at Versailles bringing with him the assent of Harley and his colleagues to the mode of negotiation proposed, but desiring the utmost secrecy to be observed.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHAP. XIV.

1711.

WHILE thus a peace was mysteriously preparing the House of Commons showed great readiness in voting the large Supplies which were required for the war, and which amounted this year to no less than 6,000,000*l.* To assist in obtaining this sum there were two Bills passed to raise 3,500,000*l.* by two Lotteries, to be paid back in thirty-two years; and for a fund to answer this Duties were laid on hops, candles, cards and dice, and on the postage of letters. There was also proposed a Duty on leather, but against this on a division a majority of Members declared. Still the Ministers did not give up their point. They brought forward a motion for the same amount of Duty upon skins and tanned hides, and this was agreed to by the House, although in fact still leather otherwise expressed. So much may depend on a name![1]

There was another scheme of the High Tories, now forming the majority, by which they hoped both to fill the Exchequer and to distress the Whigs. This was a further resumption of King William's grants, appointing in the first instance a Commission of Inquiry. A Bill for that object passed through its stages in the Commons, but was finally rejected by the Lords.

A different subject which at this time engaged the attention of both the Houses related to the Palatines. These poor emigrants, chiefly Lutherans, had during the last two years come over from the Continent in considerable numbers. The Queen had afforded them her bounty; and the Whig Ministers had generously striven

[1] Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 999.

to establish them to their advantage; about eight hundred families being sent to Ireland and many more to the North American plantations, while others were supplied with funds at home. But these charities being bestowed at a season of distress when bread had greatly risen in price excited much displeasure among the lower ranks in England. There was a cry that we supported strangers while our own people were starving. There was also a cry from other persons higher in station though scarcely so in sense, that this was only part of a subtle design against the Church of England, the true object of the immigration being to increase the numbers and the strength of the Protestant dissenters. So strong were these feelings that Bishop Burnet does not hesitate to ascribe to them a considerable share in the ferment that rose upon Sacheverell's trial.

The friends of the Church as they called themselves having now the ascendency in the House of Commons were not slow in re-echoing the Anti-emigrant cry. After some inquiry before a Select Committee they passed two vehement Resolutions. First "that the inviting and bringing over the poor Palatines of all religions at the public expense was an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of the public money, tending to the increase and oppression of the poor of this kingdom, and of dangerous consequence to the Constitution in Church and State." And secondly, "that whoever advised the bringing over the poor Palatines into this kingdom was an enemy to the Queen and kingdom." It was desired to apply this last Resolution, in a specific manner, to the Earl of Sunderland, there being produced a letter on the subject addressed by him as Secretary of State to the Board of Trade. On further reflection however that intention was at last let fall. But the House eagerly carried through a Bill to repeal the Act for the general naturalization of all Protestants, which had passed two

CHAP. XIV. 1711.

years before. Far different was the feeling of the Lords. When the Bill came up to their House it was rejected, even at its first reading, to the great joy of all the foreign Protestants.

While thus the two Houses were engaged in public business the life of the Prime Minister was exposed to sudden danger. There was a certain French emigrant who called himself the Marquis de Guiscard, and who had several times been consulted by Marlborough and Godolphin on their projects of descent in Languedoc and Picardy. Finding his counsels neglected and his pension reduced by Harley he was provoked to a signal act of treachery. He wrote some secret letters to Paris offering to make his peace and disclosing whatever he knew. But these letters being by good fortune intercepted, a Warrant for High Treason was issued against him by Secretary St. John; and on the 8th of March he was apprehended in St. James's Park. Being conveyed to the Cockpit and hopeless of a pardon he indulged only the hope of revenge, and observing in the room where he waited a penknife on a standish he contrived to take it up and secrete it unperceived by the messengers who watched him. Being next brought before the Lords of the Council he was shown his letters from Paris and convicted by his own hand-writing. Then wholly desperate he desired, it was thought, to kill the Secretary of State who had signed the Warrant and produced the letters, but as St. John sat out of his reach he suddenly stooped down over Harley and with a cry J'EN VEUX DONC A TOI drew out the penknife and stabbed him in the breast. The slender blade broke in the gash about half an inch from the handle, which Guiscard not perceiving redoubled the blow. When St. John saw the Prime Minister fall to the floor he cried out "The villain has killed Mr. Harley," and drawing his sword, as did also the Duke of Newcastle and some more, they dealt Guiscard several wounds. Other Lords of the

Council with greater prudence secured themselves with chairs from the rage of the assassin; and others more prudent still ran out of the room to call for help. Messengers and door-keepers rushed in pell-mell, and one of the former, Wilcox by name, a very strong man, secured Guiscard at last by grappling with him and bringing him to the ground, Guiscard sustaining in his fall a heavy bruise in the back. CHAP. XIV. 1711.

Harley, it is acknowledged, showed great firmness and magnanimity. As St. John wrote at the time, "I who have always admired him never did it so much. The suddenness of the blow, the sharpness of the wound, the confusion which followed, could neither change his countenance nor alter his voice." When the surgeon came to dress his wound he calmly desired to be told if it were mortal, that he might have time to settle his family affairs. And when after the examination the surgeon assured him that the wound was not dangerous, he was just as little elated beyond his former composure.[2]

Guiscard meanwhile was conveyed a close prisoner to Newgate where at first he sullenly refused a surgeon's aid. He was twice examined by a Committee of the Privy Council but made no disclosures, and in all probability had none to make. On the 17th he died of his wounds, or rather of his bruise, which had turned to a gangrene.

The wound of Harley though slight in itself brought on a fever which confined him for some time to his chamber. Indeed, as his enemies alleged, he took care for the sake of popular effect to remain in the surgeon's hands as long as possible. But, as it seems to me, no such artifice was needed. Even the first tidings of the outrage called forth the strongest expressions of sympathy. The two Houses combined in a joint Address to the Queen stating their concern at this "barbarous

[2] Bolingbroke's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 63. Complete History of Europe, 1711, p. 126.

CHAP. XIV. 1711.

and villanous attempt;" insisting on the fact that Guiscard was "a French Papist;" and in conclusion urging Her Majesty "to give such directions as in your great wisdom shall seem most proper for causing Papists to be removed from the cities of London and Westminster." Accordingly the Queen did issue a Proclamation "strictly to put in execution the laws against Papists." The two Houses on their part proceeded to pass a Bill making an attempt on the life of a Privy Councillor in the execution of his office to be felony without benefit of Clergy.

Harley as a party chief was beyond all doubt a gainer by his wound. Many of his followers, since he became Prime Minister, had begun to see or to suspect his real unfitness for the chief part in affairs—how dubious he was in his views and how dilatory in his conduct. Some already looked to the rising genius of St. John; many more relied on the veteran merit of the Queen's uncle the Earl of Rochester. At this period the most thoroughgoing of the Tories in the House of Commons were wont to meet in what was termed the October Club, and there the Earl of Rochester had become a favourite toast. But all this was changed by the penknife of Guiscard. Once again was Harley proclaimed on all sides as the hero, nay the martyr, of his cause. Once again did the Tories not only applaud his actual elevation, but aspire for him to those higher honours that had come in view. Meanwhile, as the party now in full ascendant, they were steadily pursuing their favourite aim of adding strength to both the landed interest and the Established Church. As regards the former there was carried through the two Houses, even before the attack on Harley, a Bill making a qualification in land essential to a seat in Parliament; 300*l.* a year for a Burgess and 600*l.* for a Knight of the Shire. Scotland was excepted on the ground that the estates were much smaller in that country. "The design of this Bill" says

Bishop Burnet "was to exclude courtiers, military men, and merchants from sitting in the House of Commons, in hopes that this being settled the land interest would be the prevailing consideration in all their consultations." But whatever the value of the object it has not been at all promoted by the Act. Nominal and fictitious qualifications were constantly granted, so that men engaged in trade or otherwise unconnected with land have at all times found an easy entrance to the House. Yet in spite of its hollow security this law has continued on the Statute Book for nearly a century and a half, not having been repealed till 1858.[3]

As regards the Established Religion the want of new churches in the growing suburbs of London had for some time past engaged the thoughts of Convocation. An Address upon the subject from its Upper House was presented to the Queen by the Archbishop of Canterbury; while Dr. Atterbury, as Prolocutor of the Lower House, waited with a similar petition on the Speaker. The result was a Message from the Queen to the House of Commons, which was brought down by Secretary St. John, and which warmly recommended the promotion of "so good and pious a work." The Commons showed equal zeal. As they declared in their reply: "Neither the long expensive war in which we are engaged, nor the pressure of heavy debts under which we labour, shall hinder us from granting to Your Majesty whatever is necessary to accomplish so excellent a design." Resolutions were passed accordingly for building fifty new churches within the Bills of Mortality, computing 4,750 souls to each church; and for the expenses assigning that part of the Duty on Coals which had defrayed the reconstruction of St. Paul's.

St. John on the 20th of April brought down another Message from the Queen, referring to an event of grave concern which had just been announced from Germany.

[3] Compare the Acts 9 Anne c. 5 and 21 & 22 Vict. c. 26.

CHAP. XIV. 1711.

The Emperor Joseph was not yet thirty-three years of age. He had a strong constitution, and might expect a long life. But he was struck down by a malady so frequently fatal in that age, the small pox, which in this same month carried off the Dauphin, only son of Louis the Fourteenth. Joseph expired at Vienna on the 17th of April New Style, leaving no male issue behind him. Thus his next heir was his brother, acknowledged by the Allies as King Charles the Third. It was obvious what new complications might arise from this untoward event. The balance of power and the liberties of Europe, endangered by the reign of the Bourbons at Madrid, might be no less in peril if the monarchy of Charles the Fifth were revived and the Crown of the Empire once again united with the Crown of Spain.

The immediate object however was not to guard against this future contingency, but rather to cement the Grand Alliance and combine to one end the High Allies. "Her Majesty"—so said the Queen in her Message to the Commons—"is desirous to let you know that immediately on the first news of the Emperor's sickness she came to a resolution to support the interest of the House of Austria in this conjuncture, and to use her utmost endeavours to get the King of Spain made Emperor, in which the States General have likewise concurred with Her Majesty." The Queen further expressed her hope that she might be able to bring this war to a happy conclusion by a safe and honourable peace. And St. John adds in a private letter written the same day—"We persuade ourselves here that there is no doubt to be made of King Charles's being elected Emperor; but the satisfying the Duke of Savoy on his pretensions to Spain seems to be the knot of the whole affair."

On the 26th Harley reappeared in the House of Commons for the first time since his illness. Then by previous direction of the House the Speaker addressed him

in a speech of florid compliment and congratulation, and Harley made a suitable reply. On the 2nd of May following he brought forward his scheme of finance. He proposed to satisfy all the outstanding Debts and Deficiencies, which amounted in the Navy alone to upwards of five millions and on the whole to nearly ten millions sterling, by allowing the proprietors of these Debts and Deficiencies a yearly interest of six per cent. redeemable by Parliament, and incorporating them to carry on the trade to the South Seas. This project was far more specious than solid, as ere long was proved by the event; nevertheless at the time it was received with great applause. And the charges then beginning to be raised against the late administration for irregularity and mismanagement in the public accounts, served even while the inquiry upon them was pending to swell the triumph of Harley.

By another favour of Fortune to this most successful Minister it so chanced that, on the very day when he brought forward his scheme of finance, there died suddenly his principal rival in his party's favor, Laurence Hyde Earl of Rochester. The elevation of Harley had been even previously resolved upon; it was now but little delayed. On the 24th of the month came forth the Patent which made him Earl of Oxford. It was the revival of an ancient and illustrious title, borne by twenty Earls in succession of the race of De Vere.[4] The last having died but nine years before it was deemed probable that from so long a lineage a remote descendant might yet appear and be able to establish his claim. To provide for such a contingency a second title, also eminent in former ages, was conferred on Harley; and his title ran Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer.

But this was not all. On the 29th of May—selected

[4] A very interesting sketch of this the noblest of the English noble families is given by Lord Macaulay (Hist. vol. ii. p. 319). The Earldom, created in 1137, became extinct in 1702.

CHAP. XIV. 1711.

as the anniversary of King Charles's Restoration —Oxford was raised to the further dignity of Lord Treasurer. He went in due form to take the oaths first in the Court of Chancery and then in the Court of Exchequer, on which occasion he was addressed by Lord Keeper Harcourt in a true Lord Chamberlain style: "My Lord Oxford, the Queen who does everything with the greatest wisdom, has given a proof of it in the honours she has lately conferred on you, which are exactly suited to your deserts and qualifications." To a bystander it might well seem wonderful what a train of accidents—some of them at first sight most unpromising—had led to this vast rise of a very commonplace politician. As Swift puts it: "This man has grown by persecutions, turnings out, and stabbing. What waiting and crowding and bowing will there be at his Levee!"[5]

Besides the Earl of Rochester there died at this time another of the Ministers the Duke of Newcastle, from a fall of his horse at Welbeck. The Duke of Buckingham succeeded Rochester as Lord President, and the Earl of Jersey was designed in Newcastle's place to hold the Privy Seal. But Jersey expired in a fit of apoplexy on the very day for which the appointment had been fixed. "I never remember" says Swift "so many persons of quality to have died in so short a time."

Under the circumstances of this sudden mortality the Privy Seal thus left vacant was conferred on Dr. John Robinson, Bishop of Bristol. It was the last time in our annals that a Bishop has been called upon to fill a political office. Even in the reign of Queen Anne this nomination is said to have excited great surprise; and it was regarded as a proof how thoroughly the Church had acquired the ascendant.

There were other appointments also. The Duke of Argyle, at this time closely banded with the Tories, had

[5] Journal to Stella, May 22, 1711.

CHAP. XIV.

1711.

been earlier in the year sent as General and Ambassador to Spain instead of Stanhope, who was still detained a prisoner. Lord Raby, lately Minister at Berlin, was chosen to succeed Lord Townshend at the Hague, and was moreover promoted to the rank of Earl of Strafford. Another Earldom was granted to Lord Dartmouth. Earl Poulett, the nominal chief of the Treasury while yet in commission, was made Lord Steward in the place of Buckingham. Meanwhile the Session had been protracted to the unusual period of the 12th of June, the chief employment of the House of Commons being to discover grounds of charge against the late Lord Treasurer. Auditor Harley, a brother of the new one, took the Chair of a second Committee upon the public accounts, which pursued its inquiries in a spirit of party rancour, and with a view to represent irregularities of form as flagrant depredations or abuses of trust. It summed up its accusations by reporting that of the monies granted by Parliament for the public service up to Christmas 1710 no less than thirty-five millions remained unaccounted for, as to great part of which no accounts had ever been so much as laid before the Auditor.

For Flanders Marlborough had formed his plans in concert with Eugene. These chiefs, as in the last preceding years, were to be confronted by Villars who had with great care and labour constructed a new series of defensive lines in the direction of Arras and Cambray. Early in the spring Marlborough was prepared to quit the Hague and to join the head-quarters at Tournay, there to be speedily joined by his German colleague. But the unexpected death of the Emperor entirely disconcerted his schemes. Eugene was detained at Vienna as Marshal of the Empire and as guardian of the rights of Charles. When at last, after a month's delay, Eugene did reach the camp of the Allies, it was only to receive within a very few days a peremptory order of recall.

CHAP. XIV. 1711.

To explain this order it must here be noted, that a Diet had been convened at Frankfort for the election of an Emperor, and that to secure this election was now the paramount and ruling object of the House of Austria. Under such circumstances the movement of some French troops on the frontiers of Alsace excited apprehension. It was feared that there might be a design, either to intimidate the Electors or interrupt the election. The Ministers at Vienna therefore sent most positive injunctions to Eugene, bidding him withdraw a main part of his army from Flanders to the Rhine, there to assume the command and to cover Frankfort and indeed any part of the Empire from attack.

Marlborough heard these tidings with a heavy heart seeing how ill they boded for his own success in the campaign. But there was no choice. The two great chiefs and friends took leave of each other on the 14th of June; the last time they ever met in the field. Eugene repaired in the first instance to the Hague, to soothe the alarms of the Dutch; while Marlborough, still desirous to try the issue of a battle even with diminished numbers, took post on the plains of Lens. Villars was however far too closely bound by his instructions to hazard an engagement at this time. But he was on the watch to avail himself of any favorable opening for a slighter blow; and thus one day he surprised a British detachment at Arleux. Here he seems to have disregarded the courtesy, or rather the humanity, of modern warfare. For as in a letter hitherto unpublished Marlborough tells it to Godolphin: "I was so out of humour that I did not write to you by the last post. The Marshal de Villars took in our post at Arleux 400 men who were stripped naked. Notwithstanding his superiority, I hope yet this campaign to return him some of his men as naked as they came into this world." [6]

[6] Letter dated July 27, 1711. Coxe's Transcripts, Brit. Mus.

CHAP. XIV.

1711.

Over-confidence was, amidst many merits, another and main fault of Villars. So much elated was he at this period, that in a letter to the King of France afterwards published he boasted that the lines constructed by him had brought his adversary to a NON PLUS ULTRA. In truth however Marlborough was intent on a wide scheme of aggression. He had planned some masterly manœuvres by which, deceiving the French Marshal and pressing through the French lines, he might in this campaign invest and reduce first Bouchain and secondly Le Quesnoy—take up his winter-quarters within the enemy's lines—and next spring, in conjunction with Eugene, march forward into the heart of France. On this the "grand project," as it was termed at the time, the Duke was now in close correspondence with Oxford and St. John. He appears after a short interval to have stifled his resentment at the dismissal of the Duchess. He may even have resumed his wish to join the Tories. When he set out from England it is stated by St. John that "he made us parting protestations of reconciliation and inviolable friendship." St. John, though mistrusting his motives, gave him fair words in return. "General Lumley will have been able to tell your Grace how sincerely I wish you established on that bottom which alone suits the merit and the character of a man like you. . . . I hope never again to see the time when I shall be obliged to embark in a separate interest from you."[7]

We turn with pleasure from Marlborough in the Cabinet to Marlborough in the field. Having by skilful movements drawn the attention of Villars to another quarter he suddenly, late on the 4th of August, sent forth a vanguard under Cadogan and Hompesch, which marching all night seized a point left undefended in the enemy's lines; so that Marlborough following at the head of his whole army became possessed of this for-

[7] Bolingbroke's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 79, 81, 87.

CHAP. XIV. 1711.

midable barrier ere the French could interpose. Hence, throwing some pontoon bridges across the Scheldt he passed that river and disclosed his real object by commencing the investment of Bouchain. Prince Eugene, writing to the Duke to congratulate him on these brilliant manœuvres, drily observes in reference to Villars's letter, "Your Highness has penetrated into the NON PLUS ULTRA." [8]

The reduction of Bouchain was indeed an enterprize requiring no little skill and patience with a watchful enemy in the field and with a resolute garrison in the place. To complete the circumvallation it was found necessary to construct an entrenched camp on either side of the Scheldt. "If"—so writes Marlborough to Godolphin—"we can succeed in this siege we shall have the honor of having done it in the face of an army many thousand men stronger than we are." A different passage from his correspondence at this period shows by retrospect the vigilance and the success of his command in former years. "The Comte d'Arbach, a Lieutenant-General of the Dutch, was taken at their last forage; he is the first Lieutenant-General that has been taken of this army during the war."

There is yet another transaction of this time tending greatly to the honor of Marlborough. He gave a signal proof of his reverence for men of genius and virtue in the case of Fenelon, the Archbishop of Cambray and—a still higher distinction—the author of Télémaque. The estates of the See being exposed to plunder by the presence of a hostile army, the Duke ordered a detachment of foot to guard the magazines of corn at Cateau Cambresis, and subsequently sent them to Cambray with an escort of dragoons. How praiseworthy the contrast with the cruelty of the French chief to the prisoners at Arleux!

Meanwhile, in spite of many obstacles, Marlborough

[8] Coxe's Marlborough, vol. vi. p. 66.

was warmly pressing the siege of Bouchain. It cost him far more time than he could have wished. The batteries however began to play on the 30th of August, and on the 11th of September the troops of the garrison were dislodged from two bastions on the right and left of the lower town. Next morning they beat a parley, and after some demurs agreed to a capitulation by which they remained prisoners of war. They were still about 3,000 strong.

The next step as planned by Marlborough would have been to invest Le Quesnoy. But from divers circumstances he found it impossible to proceed any further with his "grand project." There was lukewarmness in England arising from the prospect of a speedy and separate peace; there was resentment among the Dutch produced by the same cause; there was on the part of Austria the tardiness, or rather the entire absence, of its promised aid. As regards the last indeed the Court of St. James's had for many months bitterly complained. Even at the beginning of this year St. John wrote: "We are almost tired of an ally who expects every thing and does nothing."[9]

In this manner shortly stated it happened that the Great Duke could neither proceed against Le Quesnoy, nor take up his winter-quarters in France. The achievements of this campaign were confined to the reduction of Bouchain. Twenty-four years later as Bolingbroke was reviewing these transactions in the celebrated Letters on the Study of History, which he addressed to Lord Cornbury, we find him urge that fact as an argument against the prosecution of the war. "The conquest of Bouchain being in fact the only one the Confederates made in 1712, Bouchain may be said properly and truly to have cost our nation very near seven millions sterling, for your Lordship will find, I

[9] To Mr. Drummond, January 12, 1711.

CHAP. XIV.

believe, that the charge of the war for that year amounted to no less."

1711. In Catalonia the Duke de Noailles had prevailed so far by his sudden invasion of the province and investment of Gerona that the city yielded to his arms before the close of January, the troops of the garrison however not to remain prisoners of war. But with the secret hope of a separate peace the Court of Versailles resolved to run no further risk on this side and to restrain the ardour both of Noailles and Vendome. As regards the Allies their cause seemed to be revived by the arrival of some English regiments and of Argyle to command in Stanhope's place. Still Charles was by no means able to cope with his opponents in the open field; and the death of his brother gave a wholly new current to his hopes. Henceforth he looked to Vienna far more than to Madrid; nor was it long ere he embarked for Genoa, thence to proceed by land to his hereditary states, leaving however his Queen at Barcelona as a pledge to the Catalans of his promised return. Meanwhile his partisans at Frankfort had not been idle; and on the 12th of October, after the usual ceremonies, he was in due form elected Emperor of Germany and King of the Romans by the title of Charles the Sixth.

War was waged also in a distant quarter of the globe. An expedition to reduce Quebec, which had been planned during the late administration, was carried out by the present with little vigour or success. Early in the year five regiments were withdrawn from the army in Flanders, much to Marlborough's chagrin, and with some other troops, about 5,000 in all, entrusted to Brigadier Hill, brother of the favourite. They embarked in transports with a strong squadron of ships of war commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker, and towards the middle of August entered the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Within a few days however they were assailed by a violent tempest and driven among rocks, where

eight transports perished with several hundred men. Sir Hovenden at once sailed back to Spanish River, and there in conjunction with the General he held a Council of War. At this it was resolved unanimously that, since the fleet and forces were victualled for ten weeks only, and could not at that stormy season depend upon New England for supplies, they should return home without any further attempt to achieve their object.

The secret negotiation with France was still continued. Towards the close of April De Torcy sent back Gaultier to London with an offer to treat comprised in six articles. It was by no means clear or explicit in its language. It promised real securities to the English trade in Spain, in the Indies, and in the Mediterranean; a sufficient Barrier and freedom of commerce to the Dutch; and a reasonable satisfaction to the Allies of England and Holland. It cautiously referred to the sovereignty of Spain as no longer in question since King Philip's late successes, but it added that in consequence of those successes new expedients might be found to regulate the succession of that monarchy to the contentment of all the parties engaged in the present war.

Vague and unsatisfactory as these terms appear they were with little delay transmitted by St. John to Lord Raby at the Hague. There went with them an ostensible and also a secret letter.[1] Lord Raby was directed to show the inclosure in the strictest confidence to Pensionary Heinsius and the other Dutch Ministers and to obtain their opinion upon it. And St. John added, "Though there is an air of complaisance through the whole paper shown to us, and the contrary to those among whom you reside, yet this can have no ill consequence so long as the Queen and States take care to understand each other." St. John's public letter further stated, "The Duke of Marlborough has no

[1] Bolingbroke's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 106.

CHAP. XIV.

1711. communication from hence of this affair; I suppose he will have none from the Hague."

The answer of the Dutch Ministers, Heinsius and Buys, was couched in most general terms; they expressed their wish for peace, but desired more explicit proposals. Their secret object was that these proposals might be made directly to themselves. Pettekum—"the peace-broker," as in one of his letters St. John calls him—wrote to France at the suggestion of Heinsius to say, that if the King would renew the negotiations in Holland he would certainly be satisfied with the conduct of the Dutch. This overture was at once declined by Louis in compliance with the wish of the English Ministers. It was to London that he looked henceforward and not to the Hague.

Oxford and St. John on their part were resuming their negotiations with Le Grand Monarque. For the sake of secrecy they resolved to employ no person of rank. They sent over to confer with Torcy their personal friend Matthew Prior, a man of quick talents and not in poetry alone. He had been before the war Secretary of Embassy at Paris and was well versed in French affairs.

The credentials of Prior were signed by the Queen's own hand, but consisted of no more than a few lines giving him powers only to state her claims and to bring back the replies. Repairing to Fontainebleau, where the Court then resided, Prior had several secret interviews with Torcy. His first inquiry was whether the King had authority to stipulate for Spain as well as France. Being assured that Philip had sent full powers for that purpose, he intimated that England no longer insisted on wresting the Spanish Crown from the House of Bourbon provided full securities were taken that it should never in any case be united with the French. Prior next proceeded to bring forward divers demands of his Royal Mistress on her own part or for

her Allies ; for England, among other things, the cession of Gibraltar, Minorca, and Newfoundland, the demolition of the works at Dunkirk, four towns for trade in South America, and large commercial advantages; the latter to be allowed to the Dutch also, with a Barrier for them of fortified towns in the Low Countries, and for the House of Austria a similar Barrier on the Rhine. CHAP. XIV. 1711.

In considering these terms Louis felt especial difficulty on the point of the commercial advantages, which he feared might prove ruinous to his own subjects as well as to those of Spain. Yet he was unwilling by any direct refusal to estrange his good friends—for so he began to think them—at the Court of St. James's. He therefore took advantage of the fact that the powers of Prior were so strictly limited. He desired, he said, to transfer the seat of the negotiation to London by sending over at the same time that Prior returned a person in his own confidence, who should have full authority to sign the Preliminary Articles. For this purpose he selected Mesnager who, though a merchant by profession, had shown himself a skilful negotiator in the Gertruydenberg negotiations.

In England meanwhile the secret was closely kept. Even Swift, familiar as he was with the chief Ministers, was not entrusted with it. So late as the 24th of August there is the following entry in his journal: "Prior has been out of town these two months, nobody knows where, and is lately returned. People confidently affirm he has been in France, and I half believe it. They say he was sent by the Ministry and for some overtures toward a peace. The Secretary (St. John) pretends he knows nothing of it."—Even this half knowledge of the public might have been avoided but for an untoward accident. Prior had landed at Deal from a small vessel and under a feigned name, but being taken for a smuggler he was seized by

CHAP. XIV. 1711.

the custom-house officers and obliged to produce his pass, nor was he released until orders from London came.

Mesnager on his arrival was well received by the English Ministers, but found considerable difficulties in the way of his negotiation. While yielding most of the points demanded he was instructed to insist especially that the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne should be reinstated in their rank and territories, and that to compensate the King of France for the demolition of Dunkirk the cities of Lille and Tournay should be restored to him. After some weeks of contestation, and another reference to Louis, it was agreed that these last points should be postponed to the final treaty. Then, on the 27th of September, Mesnager on the part of France signed eight Preliminary Articles of peace with England. By these Louis bound himself to acknowledge Anne as Queen of Great Britain as also the succession to her Crown as by law established. A new treaty of commerce was to be framed. Dunkirk was to be demolished, some fair equivalent being first determined. Gibraltar and Port Mahon were to remain in the hands of the English. Newfoundland also was to be ceded with some fishing rights reserved. The ASIENTO — by which Spanish word signifying only "compact" was meant in fact the slave-trade as the most excellent of all possible treaties—would be granted by Spain to the English instead of the French, some places in America to be assigned "for the refreshment and sale of their negroes."

The Preliminaries being signed, and a peace in some measure secured, several acts of courtesy ensued. Marshal Tallard, who had been detained a prisoner ever since the battle of Blenheim, was permitted to return on his parole to France. Monsieur Mesnager, before he went back, was presented to the Queen at Windsor and graciously received. She said to him: "It is a good

work; pray God prosper you in it. I am sure I long for peace; I hate this dreadful work of blood."[2]

But besides the Preliminaries of Peace with England there was another document signed by Mesnager on the 27th of September. This was a different set of Preliminaries drawn out in seven articles and designed mainly for communication to the Dutch. Indeed St. John writing to the Queen the same day goes so far as to call this "the paper for Holland." From it were omitted, to give no ground of jealousy, the clauses which especially favored England; and above all the intended cession of Gibraltar and Mahon. On the other hand there were inserted new stipulations which most concerned the other Allies; as the promise of measures to hinder that the Crowns of France and Spain should ever be united on the head of the same Prince; a Barrier for the Dutch; and another to be formed for the Empire and the Austrian Family.

Armed with this document the Earl of Strafford, who had come over to England to be married, was within a few days sent back to his post at the Hague. He was further directed to show to the Ministers of Holland a list, transmitted by the King of France, of four towns, at any one of which the King was willing that the conferences should be held. "We have refused" writes St. John "to let the general treaty be carried on in our own country; and we are ready to send our plenipotentiaries to such of these four towns as may be most agreeable to the Dutch States."[3]

These proposals, however skilfully varnished, proved to be most unwelcome at the Hague. The ruling Dutchmen demurred to any negotiation thus conducted, and sent over Buys to urge their remonstrances in London. Buys was courteously received both by Queen and Ministers, but could not make the least impression.

[2] Compare the Mémoires de Torcy, vol. iii. p. 87, and a note to Burnet's History, vol. vi. p. 77.

[3] Correspondence, vol. i. p. 249.

CHAP. XIV. 1711.

St. John said drily, that as England bore by very far the largest share in the burthen of the war, England was entitled to take the leading part in the conclusion of the peace. With great reluctance the States were at last obliged to allow, in practice at least, the truth of St. John's words. They consented to negotiate in the manner that England had proposed; and for the place selected Utrecht the first town named in the French list. There it was settled that the conferences should begin in the first days of January next.

On the Austrian side the resentment at the course of England was even greater, or at least more publicly shown. Count de Gallas, the Imperial Minister in London, received from St. John a copy of the paper in seven articles already transmitted to Holland. The communication was designed in the first instance as private, but De Gallas in his wrath sent it to the newspapers. "It has been rendered as public as the Daily Courant can make it"—so St. John writes. The Count was not content with this single indiscretion. He reviled the English Government in unmeasured terms, not sparing even the Queen herself, and declaring that her Ministers must be fools or worse. Further still it appeared that he was taking an active part in promoting the pamphlets and lampoons which began to swarm against the project of a peace.

It was thought necessary by some decisive step to assert the Royal dignity. On Sunday the 28th of October, Sir Clement Cottrel, Master of the Ceremonies, was ordered to go to the Count de Gallas and forbid him the Court in Her Majesty's name; adding that she no longer looked upon him as a public Minister, nor would receive any further application from him. At the same time, Mr. Watkins the Secretary of Embassy at the Hague, was directed to proceed to Frankfort where the newly elected Emperor was expected to arrive in order to be crowned. Mr. Watkins was to deliver to

His Majesty a letter in the Queen's own hand, announcing her displeasure with the Count de Gallas and her desire to receive another Austrian Minister.

The pamphlets and lampoons which have been already mentioned grew more and more in numbers and gave much annoyance to the Ministry. There was no lack of good writers to put forth other tracts in answer or retaliation—with arguments as keen or with ribaldry as coarse. But besides these the Government of that day relied on what the Covenanters would have called "the arm of flesh." So early as the 17th of October we find St. John report to the Queen: "I have discovered the author of another scandalous libel, who will be in custody this afternoon; he will make the thirteenth I have seized and the fifteenth I have found out."

Nor did these libellers confine themselves to prose. As Swift notes a few days later, "The Whig party are furious against a peace; and every day some ballad comes out reflecting on the Ministry on that account." Five years afterwards these effusions received a compliment they little deserve; they were collected and published in a dreary volume entitled "Pills to purge State Melancholy."

It was in the very midst of this political crisis that Marlborough returned to England. He set out from the Hague in company with Baron Bothmar, the Hanoverian Envoy to St. James's; and they landed at Greenwich on the 17th of November. This was the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the Crown; when some tumults were apprehended. The apprentices and others of that class in London had been wont for many years to celebrate the day as a triumph to the Protestant cause; marching in nightly procession, and burning at a bonfire effigies of the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender. This year, as a side-blow to the Tory Ministers—the friends of France as they were called—it was desired to enhance the usual solemnities;

CHAP. XIV. 1711.

and there were it was said Whig subscriptions for that object. An account of the pageant as intended was soon afterwards published. Nothing could well be more offensive to the Roman Catholics in England. We find among the Items for instance: "Two Jack-puddings sprinkling Holy Water"—"Twelve streamer-bearers with different devices, representing Sandals, Ropes, Beads, Bald-pates, and pregnant Nuns"—"After these four fat Friars in their habits, Streamers carried over their heads, with these words EAT AND PRAY"—"The Pope under a magnificent canopy, with a silver fringe, accompanied by the Chevalier de St. George on the left, and his counsellor the Devil on his right."[4]

But the Ministers were on the alert. In the night of the 16th they sent to seize the effigies prepared, which were deposited in an empty house in Angel Court, Drury Lane. These being carried to the office of the Secretary of State Lord Dartmouth and there secured, the intended procession was nipped in the bud. Next day moreover the Trained Bands were called out and regular troops disposed in different places, so that the alarming anniversary passed off in perfect quietness. The result was only an increased exasperation between the political parties. The Tories declared that their adversaries had planned this pageant to profit by the confusion which might ensue and overthrow the government. On the other hands the Whigs exclaimed that these fears were merely feigned as an excuse for rigorous and re-actionary measures.

Marlborough with his customary prudence stayed at Greenwich the whole night of the 17th, lest if in London

[4] Complete History of Europe, 1711, p. 402. As to the alleged Whig subscriptions, the Journal to Stella fixes the amount at 1,000*l.*, and names one subscriber, Dr. Garth. The Tory papers of the day accuse the Kit-Cat Club, and give these as the initials of subscribers: G. G. G., S. S. S., W. H. M., by which are meant Godolphin, Grafton, Garth, Somers, Sunderland, Somerset, Walpole, Halifax, and his brother Montague.

he might be accused of countenancing any tumult that arose. Finding all quiet he passed through the City next morning and went to Hampton Court to pay his respects to the Queen. His wish was at this time to remain neutral, or nearly neutral, in the affair of the Peace—to remonstrate in private with Her Majesty on the course proposed—but to take no public part against it. It was his object, according to Coxe, to obtain from the Queen the warrants for continuing the works at Blenheim.[5] But he soon perceived that his neutrality would not be possible. The Peace would be assailed as soon as Parliament met, and above all in the House of Lords; and he must then declare himself—Content or Not Content.

Under these circumstances the Great Duke took counsel in secret with his friends and former colleagues of the Whig party; and they confided to him a plan which they had formed to defeat the Ministry and themselves return to power.—The majority against them in the Commons was very large. In the Lords on the other hand there was no great preponderance on the side of the Government; and a small band of Tories if won over would suffice to turn the scale. Such a band was now directed by Lord Nottingham. That veteran chief, so conspicuous in former years, had been passed over in all the recent nominations. There was indeed a rumour that he would be appointed Lord President at the death of Rochester. But Lord Oxford was it seems determined not to place him again in office from a dread of his extreme views and overbearing temper. "Mr. Harley would think his power at an end, if that person were taken in"—so writes a well-informed bystander.[6]

[5] On Marlborough's views at this time compare Bolingbroke's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 298, with Coxe's Life, vol. vi. p. 130.

[6] Letter from Mr. Maynwaring to the Duchess of Marlborough, May 4, 1711. According to Lord Dartmouth moreover "the Queen would not hear of Lord Nottingham." (Note to Burnet's Hist. vol. vi. p. 9.)

CHAP. XIV. 1711.

Much incensed at this neglect Lord Nottingham, as the period of the Session drew near, made overtures for an union with the Whigs. They, seeing that a majority could thus and thus only be secured, welcomed him with readiness. A coalition was formed on terms not altogether to the credit of the Whigs, as involving on their part some sacrifice of principle. It was agreed by them to support Nottingham's favourite measure, the Occasional Conformity Bill, which in former years they had so sharply and so successfully opposed. Nottingham, on the other hand, though at the outset he had desired only a defensive war, thought it open to him after the victories achieved to join his new allies in resisting the conclusion of a Peace, except upon the basis that Spain and the Indies should be wrested from the House of Bourbon.

Besides their compact with the Earl of Nottingham the Whigs had also been tampering with some men in eminent posts, and above all with the Duke of Somerset, then in high favor with the Queen and her Master of the Horse. The promised aid of that very variable nobleman was of especial value to them, considering the confidential offices held by the Duchess in close attendance on the Royal Person. On the whole they were and with good reason confident of victory, and had already begun to plan a new administration, in which Somers was to be chief and Walpole leader of the Commons. Apprised of this favorable prospect and himself far from approving the Preliminaries, Marlborough resolved to cast in his lot with his old friends. He broke from the Ministry, and there was henceforth open war between them. The Ministry on their part, though not as yet fully informed of the designs against themselves, prepared with spirit for the coming strife. Hoping with a little more time to gain over or convince several of the Peers they prorogued the Parliament for another fortnight, and fixed its meeting finally for the 7th of December. As St. John writes at this crisis to

the Hague, "Friday next the Peace will be attacked in Parliament indirectly. I am glad of it, for I hate a distant danger which hovers over my head; we must receive their fire and rout them once for all."[7]

The interval was actively employed by the Opposition also. They had used and were using their best endeavours to proclaim and manifest the discontent of the High Allies. From Milan, on his way to Frankfort, Charles had written to the States General at the Hague declaring that he utterly rejected the Preliminaries as well for the present and the future, and would by no means allow any ambassador of his to take part in the conferences. This letter, by the care of the statesmen out of power, was published in the London papers. From Frankfort the Emperor further intimated, that to give full effect to his remonstrances he desired to send Prince Eugene to England—an announcement very far from welcome to the English Ministers. But the main blow dealt upon them at this time was in the name of Hanover. Baron Bothmar, the Elector's Envoy at St. James's, who was acting in close concert with Marlborough, drew up a Memorial expressing in vehement terms the objections of his master to the Preliminary Articles; and Marlborough took care that this Memorial should be both presented and published at the most critical moment for the Ministry—only a few days before the Meeting of Parliament. The Duke had calculated that a great Parliamentary effect might ensue from the strong protest at that juncture of the Heir Presumptive.

The long-expected day, the 7th of December, came at last. In her Speech from the Throne the Queen informed the Houses that both place and time were appointed for opening the treaty of a General Peace, "notwithstanding" she added "the arts of those who delight in war"—an indirect reflection, as it was then

[7] To the Earl of Strafford, Dec. 4, 1711.

CHAP. XIV. 1711.

considered, on Marlborough and the Whigs. The Speech having been concluded, and the Royal robes laid aside, the Queen returned to the House "incognito," partly to hear the debates, and partly in the hope, as was supposed, that its asperities might be allayed by her presence. If such were her hope it most signally failed. No sooner had the Address in answer to the Royal Speech been in due form moved and seconded than up rose Nottingham. In bitter terms he inveighed against the Articles signed by Mesnager, declaring that hostilities ought to be carried on with the utmost vigour until the objects of the Grand Alliance had been fully attained. "Although" he said "I have a numerous family, I would readily contribute half my income to such a war rather than acquiesce in such a Peace;" and he ended by moving a Clause to the Address representing to the Queen, as the opinion of the House, "that no Peace could be safe or honorable to Great Britain or Europe if Spain and the West Indies were allotted to any branch of the House of Bourbon."

There followed a long and very warm contest. Nottingham was supported by Wharton, Sunderland, Cowper, Bishop Burnet, and the whole strength of the Whig party, while on the other hand, so far as we can gather, he was but feebly opposed by the office-holders. They were damped no doubt by the sudden defection of one of their own number, the Duke of Shrewsbury. But the main incident of this debate related to the Duke of Marlborough. Lord Anglesey, who had come post from Ireland in company with the Duke of Ormond, and had travelled the last thirty miles that morning, descanted—perhaps in some heat from his journey—on the blessings of peace, which he added might have been enjoyed soon after the battle of Ramillies, but for some persons whose interest it was to prolong the war. Then with much emotion the Great Duke rose. First bowing to the place where Her Majesty sat he said, "I

appeal to the Queen whether, while I had the honor to serve Her Majesty as General and Plenipotentiary, I did not constantly inform her and her Council of all the proposals of peace that were made, and desire instructions for my conduct on that subject. I can declare with a safe conscience, in the presence of Her Majesty, of this illustrious assembly, and of that Supreme Being who is infinitely above all the powers upon earth, and before whom in the ordinary course of nature I must soon appear to give an account of my actions, that I ever was desirous of a safe, honorable, and lasting peace; and was always very far from any design of prolonging the war for my own private advantage, as my enemies have most falsely insinuated. . . . But at the same time I must take the liberty to declare, that I can by no means give into the measures that have been lately taken to enter into a negotiation of peace with France upon the foot of the seven Preliminary Articles, since I am of the same opinion with the rest of the Allies, that the safety and liberty of Europe will be in imminent danger if Spain and the West Indies are left to the House of Bourbon."

In the division which ensued the hopes of the Whig leaders were most fully confirmed, since the clause of Nottingham was carried by 62 votes against 54. It is true that in the Commons the same evening a like amendment, being moved by Robert Walpole, was rejected by an overwhelming majority, 232 against 106. Yet still the fact remained, that one branch at least of the Legislature would certainly demur to peace on the terms proposed. And there was still another more secret cause of apprehension. Next day, in strict confidence, Mrs. Masham whispered it to Swift: "I begin to fear," she said, "Her Majesty is changed. For yesterday when she was going from the House where she sat to hear the debate, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Chamberlain, asked her whether he or the Great Chamberlain Lindsey ought to

CHAP. XIV. 1711.

lead her out. She answered short, 'Neither of you;' and gave her hand to the Duke of Somerset, who was louder than any in the House for the clause against peace."

At this crisis the best friends of Oxford and St. John lost all hope of their continuance in power. "Here" writes Swift "are the first steps towards the ruin of an excellent Ministry, for I look upon them as certainly ruined." And again: "At the Secretary's office I met Prior, who told me he gave all for gone, and was of opinion the whole Ministry would give up their places next week. Lewis thinks they will not till spring when the Session is over; both of them entirely despair."[8] Oxford himself maintained a resolute tone. He spoke on the subject to Gaultier, now again in London; and, as Gaultier reports to Torcy, "My Lord Treasurer bids me assure you that you may rely in the most positive manner upon his firmness; that he will write to you in eight or ten days; and that you shall see the full effect of his promises and of his determination."

Flushed with his great victory Nottingham lost no time in introducing his dearly cherished bantling, the Occasional Conformity Bill, with only some very slight modifications to satisfy in show at least his new allies. It enacted that if any officer civil or military, or any magistrate of a Corporation, obliged by the Acts of Charles the Second to receive the Sacrament, should during his continuance in office attend any Conventicle, or religious meeting of Dissenters, such person should forfeit 40*l.* to be recovered by the prosecutor; and every person so convicted should be disabled to hold his office and incapable of any employment in England. This intolerant Bill, carried through the House of Lords by the active assistance of the Whigs, was received with

[8] Journal to Stella, December 15, 1711. Of the latter politician Swift says in one of his lighter pieces:

"This Lewis is a *cunning shaver*,
And very much in Harley's favor."

enthusiasm by the Tory majority in the House of Commons, and was quickly passed into law, continuing as such for more than seven years.

In another transaction of this time the same reckless spirit appeared. The Whigs, as then possessing the ascendant in the House of Lords, viewed with much jealousy the possible admission through British peerage patents of more Scottish Peers—a class of men whom they regarded, and not without some reason at that period, as wholly subservient to the Crown. It came to an issue by the recent creation of the Duke of Hamilton to be Duke of Brandon in England. The question being put—and a consultation of the Judges first refused—whether Scottish Peers created Peers of Great Britain have a right to sit in the House, it was carried in the negative by the narrow majority of 57 against 52. Even at the time of this decision by the Lords the Duke of Queensberry was sitting among them by virtue of a British peerage granted since the Union; and there was scarce even a shred of law to cover the manifest party-object of the vote. It remained in force however for upwards of seventy years. At length in 1782 the question of the disability of Scottish Peers to receive patents of peerage in Great Britain being raised anew on a petition from the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, was referred to the Judges, who decided unanimously that no such disability had been created by the Act of Union. The Lords thereupon revoked their former decision.[9]

On the 22d of December the House of Commons adjourned for the Christmas holidays until the 14th of January. But the newly formed majority in the Lords were so eager in controlling the hostile Ministry, that they would scarce allow themselves any holiday at all,

[9] See a passage in Sir Thomas May's interesting and valuable work, Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George the Third, vol. i. p. 239. Also the Lords Journals, June 6, 1782.

CHAP. XIV. 1711.

adjourning only from the same day in December till January the 2nd. Before they separated they gave other tokens of their power. To gratify the House of Hanover the Duke of Devonshire brought in a Bill giving to the Electoral Prince as Duke of Cambridge the precedence of all Peers. To embarrass the negotiations at Utrecht Lord Nottingham carried an Address that Her Majesty might instruct her plenipotentiaries to consult with the Ministers of the other Allies in Holland, and concert the necessary measures to preserve a strict union amongst them all. In vain did the Lord Treasurer assert that this had been done. Nottingham persevered with his Address, and the Ministers only prevailed so far as to insert in it the words, "in case Her Majesty had not already given such orders."

While these things passed in Parliament since the first vote on the 7th of December the Ministers had been most anxiously reviewing their position and determining their course. They soon found that there was not, as at first they feared, any change of purpose in the Queen. As St. John wrote to Strafford on the 15th, "the only difficulty she laboured under, besides a little natural slowness, was the habit which she has with the Duchess of Somerset and the apprehension of not finding somebody to fill a place so near her person whom she could like." In fact there was now the same difficulty about the Duchess of Somerset as in former days there had been about the Duchess of Marlborough. But in politics the Queen had no doubts. She was willing to support the Church party, as she deemed it, by even the most violent stretch of her prerogative. On this knowledge the Ministers acted.

Their first step was to strike down Marlborough. For this purpose they used a weapon which had been for some time in their hands, and which it might be in their power to withhold or draw forth as they pleased. The Commission of Public Accounts as appointed by

themselves, consisted of some ardent Tories with Lockhart of Carnwath as its Chairman; and among the documents laid before it there was one that bore hard on the Great Duke. It was the deposition of Sir Solomon Medina, a wealthy Jew and the contractor for bread to the army in Flanders. Sir Solomon stated that from 1707 to 1711 he had paid to the Duke of Marlborough for his Grace's own use on the several contracts for the army a sum of 332,000 guilders—that on each contract he had presented Mr. Cardonnel, secretary to the Duke, with a gratuity of 500 ducats—and that moreover he had paid to Mr. Sweet, deputy paymaster at Amsterdam, the farther allowance of one per cent. on all the monies he received. As regards the payments to the Duke it further appeared that the same had been made by the previous contractor M. Machado. From these facts the Commissioners computed that in ten years the Duke of Marlborough had received from the bread-contractors and applied to his own use a sum equivalent in English money to upwards of 63,000*l*. It was probably to the substance or main facts of Medina's deposition that St. John desired to refer so far back as the January preceding, when writing in confidence to Drummond he says of the Duke, "We shall do what we can to support him in the command of the army without betraying our Mistress; and unless he is infatuated he will help us in this design, for you must know that the moment he leaves the service and loses the protection of the Court, such scenes will open as no victories can varnish over."[1] In November, Marlborough being then at the Hague, the Commissioners had sent him this deposition in a private form. Writing in reply the Duke admitted that he had received the sums in question, but observed first, that in receiving them he had followed the precedent of every former General or Commander in Chief in the Low Countries, both

[1] Bolingbroke's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 50.

CHAP. XIV. 1711.

before the Revolution and since; and secondly, that he had applied the money so received to public uses in obtaining secret intelligence of the enemy's designs. The Commissioners however did not deem this answer satisfactory. In the Report which they now proceeded to draw up they denied that the sums of which Marlborough had acknowledged the receipts were either legal or warrantable perquisites; and they asserted that on the strictest inquiry they could not find proof that any English General, either in the Low Countries or elsewhere, had ever received the like.

But the Commissioners did not stop here. They brought into account also a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops subsidised by England, which sum was paid to Marlborough under a warrant from the Queen in the first year of her reign, and designed, as the warrant states, for "extraordinary contingent expences." Lockhart and his colleagues—I had almost said accomplices—took little heed of that warrant or those services. They reckoned that even excluding from the calculation the foreign auxiliaries employed in Spain, Portugal, or Italy, Marlborough must have received and applied to his own use the sum of 177,000*l.*; which sum they declared to be public money for which the Duke as receiver was accountable.

The Report of the Commissioners was presented to the House of Commons on the 21st of December, but the deposition of Sir Solomon was deferred till the 22nd, the very day of the adjournment, so that in Parliament at least no present answer could be made. Thus the popular impression was increased. On the 30th Swift notes in his journal, "The Duke of Marlborough was at Court to-day and nobody hardly took notice of him." The courtiers showed that admirable prescience which has been observed of certain other creatures, and which enables them in sufficient time to leave a falling house. In this case the fall was not long delayed. On the 31st

the Queen appeared at the Council, and ordered this entry to be made in the Council-books: "Being informed that an information against the Duke of Marlborough was laid before the House of Commons by the Commissioners of the Public Accounts, Her Majesty thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments that the matter might have an impartial examination." Her Majesty wrote with her own hand to the Duke announcing to him his dismissal, and further complaining of "the treatment she had met with." The Duke's answer, conveyed to the Queen through his daughter Lady Sunderland, was couched in terms of great dignity and moderation.

So bold a stroke required another still bolder to sustain it. The same Gazette of the 31st of December which announced that the Queen had dismissed the Duke of Marlborough from all his employments, made known also the creation of twelve new Peers. By this COUP D'ETAT it was intended to overrule or rather to invert the majority in the Upper Chamber and to secure from opposition a Peace on the terms proposed. It is the only time in our annals that a stretch of the prerogative in this direction has been actually effected, though not the only time that it has been threatened and intended. In 1712 it seems to have excited less emotion than might at present be supposed. The Whigs were already so indignant at some late transactions that their wrath would scarce admit any further increase; and the Tories were so far wrought upon by the injuries which they deemed themselves to have sustained, as to consider almost any measures justifiable so that it kept their party in power.

To form this phalanx of new Peers the Ministers proceeded as follows. First they called up by Writ the eldest sons of two Earls, Northampton and Ailesbury. Next in the same spirit they conferred a barony on the eldest son of a Peer less high in rank than the preceding, Lord Paget, and another barony on the eldest son of a

CHAP. XIV.

1711. Scottish Peer the Earl of Kinnoul. Viscount Windsor in the Irish peerage obtained the title of Lord Mountjoy in the English. Two Baronets, Sir Thomas Mansell and Sir Thomas Willoughby, became respectively Lord Mansell and Lord Middleton. Sir Thomas Trevor, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, became Lord Trevor, and George Granville, of Stow in Cornwall, Lord Lansdowne. Thomas Foley was created Lord Foley, Allan Bathurst, Lord Bathurst, and Samuel Masham, husband of the favourite, Lord Masham.

In this last case the Queen might be supposed to have gratified her own predilection. But such was not the fact. Lord Dartmouth tells us that he was the person sent to suggest to her that Mrs. Masham's husband should be one of the new Peers. Her Majesty, it was found, by no means relished the proposal. "I never had any design," she said, "to make a great lady of her, and I should lose a useful servant about my person; for it would give offence to have a Peeress lie upon the floor and do several other inferior offices." At last however the Queen relented, but only upon condition that her new Ladyship should remain a dresser.[2]

Masham in fact was only a makeshift. The person first designed for a peerage in his place was Sir Miles Wharton, a country gentleman of old descent. But Sir Miles with noble spirit declined the offer. "This looks," he said, "like serving a turn. Peers used to be made for services which they have done, but I should be made for services that I am to do."

1712. On the 2nd of January, when the House of Lords met again, the twelve new Peers came to take the oaths. "It was apprehended," so Swift writes, "the Whigs would have raised some difficulties, but nothing happened." Nor is it easy to see how in point of strict law any objection could be made. Immediately after the oaths there was a Message delivered from the Queen

[2] Lord Dartmouth's note to Burnet's History, vol. vi. p. 36.

to the effect, that having matters of great importance to communicate to both Houses of Parliament, she desired the Lords to adjourn immediately to the 14th, the same day to which the Commons had adjourned themselves. So unusual a measure as a Message of Adjournment to one House only gave rise to a keen debate, and the adjournment was carried by a majority of no more than thirteen, including the twelve new Peers. On this occasion, seeing their number the same as of a petty Jury, Lord Wharton sarcastically asked them whether they would vote singly or by their foreman.

CHAPTER XV.

CHAP. XV.

1712.

It was just after this crisis of affairs, that is, on the 6th of January, that Prince Eugene arrived in London. His presence a few weeks before might perhaps have produced a strong effect, but, like most other measures of the House of Austria at this period, it was delayed too long. He found Marlborough, whom he desired to befriend, already discarded; he found the majority in the House of Lords on which he reckoned already overwhelmed. The Government had much disapproved and endeavoured to prevent his coming; but when he came, he was received, outwardly at least, with every token of attention and respect. At his first audience of Her Majesty, when he delivered a letter from the Emperor, there were present Oxford and St. John only. Anne, who during the last few months had suffered renewed and increasing attacks of gout, said to him in answer: "I am sorry that the state of my health will not allow me to speak with your Highness as often as I wish, but"—and here she pointed to the two Ministers—"I have ordered these gentlemen to receive your proposals whenever you think fit." At a subsequent audience she made the Prince the present of a sword richly set with diamonds to the value of 4,500*l.*

Eugene soon found however that he made no progress. He could neither alter the intended terms of peace, nor avert the coming Congress. All his movements, all his conversations, were jealously watched. Nor did his high character shield him. He was exposed in secret to calumnious charges brought to the notice of the Government, in part by a Jesuit spy and intriguer named

Plunket, and in part by anonymous accusers. He was said to be conspiring with Marlborough and the Whig chiefs to raise an insurrection in the streets—fire the City—and seize the person of the Queen. Even the midnight brawls of some drunken revellers of this period, who called themselves Mohocks, were held forth as signs and tokens of this pretended plot.[1] The Ministers did not discountenance these shameful rumours so fully as they might; they went so far as to examine Plunket before the Cabinet Council, and on the Queen's birthday to double the customary guards. At last, after some weeks' stay, Eugene perceiving that his presence did not promote his objects and served only to embitter his opponents, took his leave, and went back much chagrined to the Hague.

On the 14th of January the Queen was suffering from gout and unable, as she had intended, to make her Speech to Parliament. On the 17th, her illness still continuing, she sent her communication as a Message to both Houses. It was mainly to announce that the Congress was now on the point of opening; and that Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries had already arrived at Utrecht. These were the Bishop of Bristol, Lord Privy Seal, and the Earl of Strafford. France had sent the Maréchal d'Huxelles, the Abbé de Polignac, and M. Mesnager; while M. Buys was the principal negotiator on the part of Holland, and the Marquis de Borgo on the part of Savoy. It had been hoped that business would commence in mid January, but some time was consumed in visits of ceremony and regulations of form, so that the first conference was not held until the 29th of the month.[2]

[1] For Plunket see especially Macpherson's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 451; and for the Mohocks the Spectators of March 27 and April 8, 1712.

[2] The Bishop of Bristol is the last English Prelate employed on a diplomatic mission. His attire and attendance at the first meeting of the Congress are described as follows. "The Lord Privy Seal appeared in a black velvet gown adorned with gold loops with a long train borne up by two pages in ash-coloured coats laced with silver orris and waistcoats of green velvet." (Complete History of Europe, 1712, p. 64.)

CHAP. XV. 1712.

Some particulars of the Court at this period are supplied by Abbé Gaultier. "Every time that the post comes in from Holland the Queen never fails to ask for the 'Gazette de Paris,' and she delights in reading the articles headed 'Londres.' Therefore your friends here request you to give directions that henceforth there may be nothing in those articles that could displease this Princess. And if your Excellency could now induce the King to write to her, such a step on the part of His Majesty would engage her very far in our interest, and our affairs would proceed much the faster. Montgoulin might take the same opportunity to declare his sentiments to Madame Protose, and assure her that he will always follow with pleasure the advice or the injunctions which may be given him in her name."[3] It appears that Louis the Fourteenth did write accordingly; that Anne was much pleased with his letter; and that she entrusted Gaultier with her reply.

James also complied with the suggestion of Gaultier. Here is his letter to the Queen. "In the present situation of affairs it is impossible for me, dear sister, to be any longer silent, and not to put you in mind of the honor and preservation of your family; and to assure you at the same time of my eternal acknowledgment and gratitude if you use your most efficacious endeavours towards both. Give me leave to say, that your own goodnature makes me already promise it to myself; and with that persuasion I shall always be ready to agree to whatever you shall think most convenient for my interest, which after all is inseparable from yours: being fully resolved to make use of no other means but those you judge most conducing to our mutual happiness and to the general welfare of our country. Your most entirely affectionate brother." This letter, derived from a draft in the Pretender's own hand-writing, has been

[3] Letter to Torcy, of January 27, 1712, N.S. (Archives des Affaires Étrangères).

already published in the Stuart collections.[4] There seems little doubt that it was through some channel safely conveyed to the Queen; but there is no proof that, even indirectly, it received any notice in return. The risk would indeed have been extreme. Nor is it at all certain what were in truth the Queen's wishes at this time. Her attachment to the Church of England, and her apprehension of another such King as James the Second, might more than balance her feeling for a brother, whom, since his cradle, she had never seen.

The Queen in her Message of the 17th had given a satisfactory promise: "You may depend on Her Majesty communicating to her Parliament the terms of peace before the same shall be concluded." Meanwhile the Session was in progress. In the Lords the opponents of the Ministry, damped by the late creations, made but little show. The Duke of Devonshire however was proceeding with his Bill to give precedence to the Prince of Hanover. But the Lord Treasurer, being determined to outbid him, introduced another Bill giving precedence to the whole Electoral family as to the children and nephews of the Crown. Devonshire upon this withdrew his measure, and Oxford's was so warmly pressed, that it passed through both Houses in two days. The Act was then despatched to Hanover by Thomas Harley, first cousin of the Treasurer, who hoped to ingratiate himself at that Court both by the message and the messenger.

In the Commons a course of blind vengeance against the members of the late administration seemed to be the prevailing wish of the new majority. Robert Walpole was too conspicuous a man to be passed by. The Commissioners of Public Accounts had brought a charge against him of illicit gains derived from some forage contracts in Scotland while he was Secretary at War. Walpole spoke ably and powerfully in his own vindica-

[4] Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 295, ed. 1775.

CHAP. XV. 1712.

tion, but he spoke to hearers already for the most part determined to condemn him. It was voted that he was guilty of notorious corruption—that he should be sent to the Tower—that he should be expelled the House. The two last Resolutions were however carried by so far reduced majorities—only 12 in the one case and only 22 in the other—as to indicate in the clearest manner how strong were in truth the grounds of his defence.

Marlborough's case came next. It led to a long and vehement debate, sustained with much ability on the one side by Secretary St. John, Sir William Wyndham, and Sir Thomas Hanmer; on the other by Sir Peter King, Sir Richard Onslow, and Mr. Pulteney. Sir John Germaine, who had been aide-de-camp to Prince Waldeck in 1689, gave evidence at the Bar in the Duke's behalf. He deposed that the allowances made to His Grace by the contractors for bread were customary perquisites of the commander-in-chief in Flanders and as such had been always paid to Prince Waldeck. It was by the skilful application of these sums that Marlborough had been enabled to obtain the early and exact intelligence which was one of the secrets of his great successes. As regards the deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops, it was shown by the signatures of the foreign Princes to have been a voluntary gift on their part, and this gift had been confirmed by a warrant from the Queen. The other deduction of one per cent. allowed to Mr. Sweet as Paymaster was not for Marlborough's profit but his own, and was made without Marlborough's knowledge. Yet in spite of these grounds for Marlborough's exculpation, the majority of the Commons, inflamed by party zeal against their leading opponent, declared by 265 votes against 155 the payments made to Marlborough by the bread contractors to have been unwarrantable and illegal. By a second Resolution, carried without a division, it was

also affirmed that the two and a half deducted from the foreign troops was public money and ought to be accounted for. It was further ordered that these Resolutions should be laid before the Queen.

From the great man the Commons passed to the great man's Secretary. It appearing from the Report of the Commissioners that Mr. Cardonnel had received an annual gratuity of 500 gold ducats from the bread contractors, he was expelled the House. As to Mr. Sweet, it was voted that the one per cent. received by him was public money and ought to be accounted for.

Dismissed in this manner from the service of his Sovereign, and assailed by the violence of an overbearing faction, Marlborough showed the same composure, the same admirable serenity of temper which had so often marked his conduct in the field. He would not plead before the Commons, whom he did not acknowledge as his judges. But he caused to be drawn up in his own name a statement of his case on all the points arraigned, and this statement was subsequently published. It is a well-written and convincing paper. Not only does the Duke give a full answer to the charges, but he shows with how little fairness they were urged. Thus, on the yearly sums from the bread contractors, he declares that this perquisite or payment had been always allowed to the General or Commander-in-Chief in the Low Countries both before and ever since the Revolution, and had been constantly applied by him to the procuring intelligence and other secret service. And he adds: "The Commissioners may have observed very rightly that, by the strictest inquiry they could make, they cannot find that any English General ever received this perquisite. But I presume to say the reason is, that there was never any other English General besides myself who was commander-in-chief in the Low Countries."

In the same spirit the Commons proceeded to consider the Barrier Treaty which they desired to be laid before

CHAP. XV. 1712.

them. Deeming its stipulations far too favourable to the Dutch they passed an intemperate vote that Lord Townshend, who had negotiated and signed the Treaty, and all those who advised its ratification, "are enemies to the Queen and kingdom."

It is worthy of note, and it ought to be a warning to all those who might be tempted to similar excesses of party violence, how slight, or rather how null, was the moral effect that they produced. No one appears to have thought the worse on that account of any of the persons so solemnly found Guilty. Walpole for example, who disdaining to make any submission remained a prisoner in the Tower until the close of the Session, received in his captivity visits of compliment and friendship from men of the highest note in England, such as Lord Somers and Lord Godolphin. The vote which declared him notoriously corrupt was so well understood as the mere fruit of Tory rancour, that it did not form the smallest objection or obstacle in his path as he rose to the highest dignities in the next ensuing reign.

In this Session there was passed an Act to protect the members of the Episcopal Church in Scotland from disturbance and interruption in their public service. It provided that they might be free to worship after their own manner, and that the Sheriff of the county should be bound to secure them from the insults of the rabble. Simple as the object seems it excited great resentment among the Scottish Presbyterians; and the General Assembly declared itself astonished and afflicted at this monstrous measure.[5]

From London we pass back to Utrecht. There the French plenipotentiaries, gave in a Project of Treaty which greatly surprised those who as yet knew only the

[5] Act 10 Anne c. 7, and Burton's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 43. The Bishop of Derry, addressing the House of Lords upon the Irish Church Bill, June 14, 1869, made skilful use of this Scottish incident.

CHAP. XV. 1712.

seven Preliminary Articles signed by Mesnager, and sent to Holland the year before. By this project Louis claimed both Lille and Tournay as an equivalent for the demolition of Dunkirk. To complete his own barrier in the Low Countries he demanded Aire and St. Venant, Bethune and Douay. The Queen's title was not to be acknowledged until the peace was signed. The Electors of Cologne and of Bavaria were to be re-established in their dominions. There was to be a mutual restoration of conquests between France and Savoy. Philip was to continue King of Spain and the Indies, but measures were to be concerted to hinder the Crowns of Spain and France from ever being united on the same head.

This project being made known to the Dutch Ministers was by their connivance published in the Dutch Gazettes, and through these found its way to England. There it stirred up no little indignation. Not the Whigs only but even many of the Tories exclaimed against it, declaring that such terms on the part of France were arrogant and insupportable after so many defeats. Lord Halifax seized the favourable moment, and on the 15th of February moved an Address to the Queen against this project in the House of Lords. Oxford, seeing how strong the current ran in that direction, did not venture to divide, and so the motion passed. As Swift writes on this occasion to excuse the mishap, "The House of Lords is too strong in Whigs notwithstanding the new creations."

The Ministers, although a little disconcerted, trusted partly to the effect of time in cooling the first resentments, and partly to the persuasions of Abbé Gaultier whom they despatched to Paris with a representation to his master, that the Queen had gone as far as was possible for her, and that if Louis desired peace he must moderate his claims. But meanwhile the course of events at Versailles tended to raise other difficulties on the side of Spain. A grievous epidemic, the

CHAP. XV. 1712.

most malignant form of measles, swept away the flower of the Royal Family and spread desolation around the hearth of the aged King. First on the 12th of February died Marie Adelaide of Savoy, the young and charming Dauphiness better known by the title of Burgundy, which she bore till a few months back. Nine days later she was followed by her husband, the worthy pupil of Fénélon and the rising hope of France. They left two sons, the Dukes of Brittany and Anjou; the former only five and the last only two years of age. Both fell ill of the same malady which had proved fatal to their parents, and the eldest expired on the 8th of March. Thus had three Dauphins of France gone to the grave in one year. The survivor, then become the heir-apparent, grew up to long life as Louis the Fifteenth, but was still a sickly infant whose life was for a time despaired of. Yet in the order of birth this one frail child was now the only bar between Philip of Spain and the throne of France. Under these altered circumstances it was doubtful whether Philip would consent to forego his eventual claim. There was much delay in his answer; there was plainly much hesitation in his mind; and until that essential point could be cleared up the entire treaty languished, and the conferences at Utrecht were suspended.

The Ministers in England had from the first protested, that if unable to conclude a peace on the terms which they desired they would be found willing and ready to prosecute the war. Already was the Duke of Ormond named General in Flanders in succession to the Duke of Marlborough; and in the course of April he joined his colleague Prince Eugene at Tournay. They had under their command a formidable army exceeding in its numbers 120,000 men, while Villars who confronted them had but 100,000; and these, from the necessities of the kingdom, ill appointed and ill supplied. With such superiority on the side of the Allies it was

the desire of Eugene to resume the "grand project" of Marlborough — invest at the same time both Le Quesnoy and Landrecies—overwhelm the French army —and march onwards into the heart of France. "I do not hesitate in declaring to you"—so he wrote a few weeks afterwards—"that it was entirely in our power to force the enemy to risk a battle to their disadvantage or repass the Somme."[6] Ormond, on his part, a man of honorable character though slender capacity, was ambitious of military fame, and like a good soldier told Eugene that he was ready to join in the attack.

Louis the Fourteenth had been at the outset almost overpowered by the anguish of his domestic losses; above all, the untimely death of the Dauphiness, the favourite and frolicsome companion of himself and Madame de Maintenon in their cheerless old age. No sooner could he again apply to business, than he bent his mind to frame some plan of renunciation for King Philip which should satisfy the Court of St. James's. In the course of April came an explicit letter on this subject from Torcy to St. John. It was now proposed, that in the Treaty of Peace the contracting parties should still stipulate most expressly that the Crown of France should never, under any circumstances, be united to the Crown of Spain. Should the King of Spain become, by order of succession, the heir to France, he was to make an immediate option between the two. If he chose Spain, the Crown of France was to pass to the next male heir; and, in the far more probable case of his preferring France, he was not to be permitted to leave Spain to any son or descendant of his own. On the contrary, that throne should then immediately devolve on some foreign Prince, to be named in the Treaty of Peace, and such as could cause no umbrage or jealousy to any of the contracting parties. The King of Portugal, wholly unconnected with the House of

[6] Letter to Marlborough, Camp at Hayn, June 9, 1712.

CHAP. XV. 1712.

Bourbon, was suggested as a person for whom this stipulation might be fitly made; and it was proposed that, to this stipulation, all the Powers of Europe should be Guarantees.

This project found no favor. It made no way with the English Ministers. St. John answered Torcy by a masterly despatch in the French language. "In either," he said, "of the cases which you put, what security can Europe have that the option which you promise will be really made? All the Powers you say should be Guarantees to this engagement; and no doubt such Guarantees might form a Grand Alliance to carry on war against the Prince who attempted to violate the conditions of the Treaty. But surely we ought to seek the means of averting, rather than the means of sustaining, a new war. No expedient will give any real security unless the Prince, who is now in possession of Spain, will make his option at this very hour, and unless his option so made be an article in the Treaty of Peace." [7]

Only a few days from the date of this despatch, Gaultier, who had been both at Paris and at Utrecht, reappeared in London. He had several interviews with each of the two leading Ministers, and was, ere long, able to announce a counter-project they had formed. This had at all events the merit of novelty. It proposed that if Philip were unwilling to resign in due form his eventual claim to the Crown of France, he should immediately relinquish Spain and the Indies, to which the Duke of Savoy should succeed. On the other hand, Philip should at once step into the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, adding to them the Duchy of Mantua as also the island of Sicily, with the title of King. He would then, with the assent of the

[7] The despatch of Torcy to St. John, April 8, N.S., and the answer of St. John, April 6, O. S. 1712, are both published in the Bolingbroke Correspondence, vol. i. p. 448–456.

Great Powers, retain his claim on France, and in the event of his ever succeeding to that Crown would annex to it the Savoy dominions.

Of this scheme of the English Ministers it might certainly be said that it treated dominions much like a pack of cards, and dealt them round with no regard to the good will or repugnance of the nations most concerned. It was not ill-framed, however, to meet the perplexities of Sovereigns at this time; and as such it was transmitted by Gaultier on the 1st of May. A special courier bore it posthaste to Versailles, and Oxford bid Gaultier write to Torcy that a favourable answer was expected, if possible, by the 10th of the same month; in which case, he added, there might ensue a suspension of arms. Gaultier took the same opportunity to warn Torcy of the growing dissensions in the English Ministry. "Whenever," he said, "you write to our Lord Treasurer take care in your letter to make no mention of 'M. de Saint Jean,' because the Treasurer does not love him, nor place any confidence in him. In the same manner the last-named person is never to know that you correspond with the Treasurer. He is not to be told that the King has written to the Queen, or the Queen to the King."

Gaultier thus concludes: "I entreat you, Monseigneur, if the transmigration of King Philip to Turin be possible at present to make every effort with the King to consent to it. I have a thousand reasons for pressing you not to defer the business to another time; for if the Queen, whose health is not good, were to die, we should be here in the greatest confusion in the world. It would then be impossible for our Ministers to make peace; they would have, on the contrary, to take new measures to continue the war."

It was not till the night of the 9th that the courier sent to Versailles came back to London, bringing with him in a letter from Torcy a full compliance with the

CHAP. XV. 1712.

terms proposed. Louis undertook to lay before his grandson for decision the two alternatives; either a public and immediate renouncement of his claim to be inserted in the Treaty of Peace, or else a transmigration, as Gaultier termed it, to Turin. It would be necessary to await the return of the messenger despatched with these offers to Madrid, but, meanwhile, Louis positively pledged himself to conclude the Peace, either on one basis or the other.

Next morning then, the 10th of May, the very day that the Treasurer had asked, there was read to the Queen in his presence and in St. John's, this letter from Torcy. So well pleased was Her Majesty, as Gaultier relates it, that she directed St. John, as Secretary of State, to take immediate measures for the suspension of hostilities. That same afternoon then, St. John sent by special express to the Duke of Ormond, what were subsequently called "the restraining orders." Here follow his own words: "Her Majesty, my Lord, has reason to believe that we shall come to an agreement upon the great article of the union of the two monarchies as soon as a courier sent from Versailles to Madrid can return. It is therefore the Queen's positive command to your Grace, that you avoid engaging in any siege or hazarding a battle till you have further orders from Her Majesty. I am at the same time directed to let your Grace know, that the Queen would have you disguise the receipt of this order; and Her Majesty thinks that you cannot want pretences for conducting yourself so as to answer her ends without owning that which might at present have an ill effect if it was publicly known. . . I had almost forgot to tell your Grace, that communication is given of this order to the Court of France; so that if the Maréchal de Villars takes in any private way notice of it to you, your Grace will answer accordingly."

The tortuous character of these instructions stands

in no need of comment. England with such Ministers showed herself far more careful of France—there being still open war between them—than of Holland to which she was bound by the closest ties. She was to manifest ill will to her Allies and reserve her friendship for her foes. The spirit of the army was to be depressed and the fame of the country tarnished. Ormond, mortified as he might be, had as a soldier no alternative but to obey. He entered into a secret correspondence with Villars, and apprised him that the troops under his own command would henceforth refrain from all offensive operations. It was impossible, however, to conceal the fact from his colleague. When Eugene warmly pressed him to join in an attack of the French camp as he had recently agreed to do, he could only give an evasive answer and at last a point-blank refusal. In this manner the true nature of his orders came to be apparent. Foiled in this first object, Eugene next proposed to invest Le Quesnoy, while Ormond should assist in or cover the siege, and Ormond feeling that he could carry his resistance no further though against his instructions complied.

Expostulations and complaints came as may be supposed thick and fast to England, and the Opposition was of course not slow to profit by them. The matter was discussed in both Houses on the 28th of May. In the Commons William Pulteney, a young orator of rising fame, moved that the General in Flanders might have instructions to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour; but he was defeated by a vast majority—203 votes against 73—and the House agreed to a Resolution for putting an entire confidence in the Queen. With the Peers Lord Halifax, as on the last occasion, took the lead. Wharton and Cowper joined him and warmly denounced the restraining orders. The Lord Treasurer said in reply, "that though the Duke of Ormond might have refused to hazard a general action, yet he could be

CHAP. XV.

1712.

positive he would not decline joining with the Allies in a siege, orders having been sent him for that purpose."

Marlborough rose next. "I am at a loss" he said "how to reconcile to the rules of war the orders not to hazard a battle but to engage in a siege; since it is impossible to make a siege without either hazarding a battle in case the enemy attempts to relieve the place, or else shamefully raising the siege." But there was yet another objection to Oxford's answer besides that which Marlborough so forcibly stated. It was in truth no more than an ignominious after-thought, since the original instructions of the 10th of May forbade, as we have seen, a siege quite as distinctly as a battle. It was only by a subsequent despatch that St. John gave his sanction to the course which Ormond had already adopted by taking part in the investment of Le Quesnoy.

Being further pressed the Treasurer in a second speech declared that in a few days the Queen, according to her promise, would lay before her Parliament the conditions that were contemplated. Some Lords had expressed their apprehensions of a separate peace. "Nothing of that nature" cried Oxford "was ever designed. Such a peace would be so base, so knavish, and so villanous a thing that every servant of the Queen must answer for it with his head to the nation." It is even alleged that he added, "The Allies know of our proceedings and are satisfied with them."[8]

So positive an assurance from the leading Minister was deemed satisfactory by the great majority of the Peers. Halifax seeing their temper desired to avoid a division, but it was forced on, and the Government prevailed by 68 votes against 40. A Protest against this decision, couched in very strong language, was signed by 27, including the name of Marlborough—a Protest afterwards

[8] Lockhart of Carnwath was present at this debate and has given an account of it (Commentaries, &c., vol. i. p. 387), not agreeing on all points with that in the Parl. History, vol. vi. p. 1135.

expunged by order of the House, and marked only by asterisks in the Journals.

There was yet another incident that day which proved only ridiculous to one of the parties, but which might have been of serious concern to one or both. Earl Poulett was so ill bred and so unjust as to use these words in the course of the discussion: "No one can doubt the Duke of Ormond's bravery, but he does not resemble a certain General who led troops to the slaughter to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head in a battle or against stone walls, in order to fill his pockets by disposing of their commissions." This dastardly taunt received no notice at the time from the great man at whom it glanced. But on the rising of the House the Duke sent Lord Mohun to Lord Poulett with an invitation, according to the language of the time, "to take the air in the country." The Earl inquiring innocently whether this was meant as a challenge received for answer that the message required no explanation. Lord Mohun added "I shall accompany the Duke of Marlborough and your Lordship would do well to provide a second."

At this summons, which he does not seem to have anticipated, the impetuous courage which no doubt was vibrating through Lord Poulett's frame may perhaps have shown itself by some tremor in his limbs. Certain it is that on returning home he could not wholly conceal his emotion from his wife. A hint was promptly conveyed to Lord Dartmouth as Secretary of State, who at once placed Lord Poulett under arrest, and conveyed to Marlborough an order from the Queen to proceed no further in this business. Nay more, by the subsequent aid of the Lord Treasurer, the two parties were brought in appearance at least to a reconciliation.

The double victory of the Ministers in both Houses of Parliament was felt by them as a great triumph, and emboldened them in their ulterior measures. Their

CHAP. XV. 1712.

chief source of anxiety and distrust was now on the side of Hanover.. As St. John had complained in confidence a little while before: "The Elector had till this winter behaved himself so that Whig and Tory equally courted him and had equal expectations from him. He has now placed himself at the head of a party, and that too, whatever he is made to believe, by great degrees the least at this time, and whenever we have got rid of our war likely to be still weaker. The landed interest will then rise, and the monied interest, which is the great support of Whiggism, must of course decline." [9]

Meanwhile there had come from Madrid the expected messenger. Philip on full deliberation had determined to accept the first of the two alternatives submitted to him. He would make a full renunciation of his eventual claim to the Crown of France; that renunciation to be confirmed in the most solemn manner by the French Parliaments and by the Spanish Cortes. It was also agreed that, in case the posterity of Philip failed, the Crown of Spain should devolve not on any other French Prince but on the Duke of Savoy, who had likewise an hereditary claim to that succession as descended from a daughter of Philip the Second. Moreover the Court of Versailles undertook that the Pretender, so constant a source of jealousy to the English Parliament and people, should at once quit the French dominions as though of his own free choice, and retire to Switzerland or Lorraine. And as a further pledge of its good faith the Court of Versailles consented, even before proceeding with the treaty, to admit an English garrison into the town and citadel of Dunkirk.

The negotiation with France and Spain being in such a state of forwardness the Queen went down to the House of Peers on the 6th of June, and delivered an elaborate speech to fulfil, as she said, her promise of communicating to her Parliament the terms of Peace

[9] To the Earl of Strafford, March 7, 1712.

before it was concluded. "The assuring" she said "of the Protestant Succession as by law established to the House of Hanover being what I have nearest at heart, particular care is taken not only to have that acknowledged in the strongest terms, but to have an additional security by the removal of that person out of the dominions of France who has pretended to disturb this settlement. Her Majesty proceeded to explain the measures taken to prevent the Crowns of France and Spain from ever being united on the same head. "The nature of this proposal is such" she added "that it executes itself." France was willing to give up its portion of the island of St. Kitts, with Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and other territory in North America. Spain would yield to us the fortress of Gibraltar, the whole island of Minorca, and the monopoly in the trade of negroes for thirty years. "I have not"—thus Her Majesty proceeded—"taken upon me to determine the interests of our confederates; these must be adjusted in the Congress at Utrecht, where my best endeavours shall be employed, as they have hitherto been, to procure to every one of them all justice and reasonable satisfaction. In the meantime I think it proper to acquaint you that France offers to make the Rhine the barrier to the Empire, to yield Brisach, the fort of Kehl, and Landau, and to raze all the fortresses both on the other side of the Rhine and in that river. The Spanish Low Countries may go to His Imperial Majesty; the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the Duchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany may likewise be yielded to the Emperor by the treaty of peace. As to the kingdom of Sicily, though there remains no dispute concerning the cession of it by the Duke of Anjou, yet the disposition thereof is not yet determined. The interests of the States General with respect to commerce are agreed to as they have been demanded by their own Ministers, with the exception

CHAP. XV. 1712.

only of some very few species of merchandise; and the entire Barrier as demanded by the States in 1709 from France, except two or three places at most. . . . The difference between the Barrier demanded for the Duke of Savoy in 1709 and the offers now made by France is very inconsiderable; but that Prince having so signally distinguished himself in the service of the common cause, I am endeavouring to procure for him still further advantages."

Such then were the principal terms which Anne announced. And in conclusion Her Majesty said: "Nothing on my part will be neglected to bring the Peace to a happy and speedy issue; and I depend on your entire confidence in me and your cheerful concurrence with me."

To bring this disposition to a trial Addresses of confidence and concurrence were moved at once in both the Houses. In the Commons it was carried nem. con. In the Lords there was a keen debate in which Marlborough spoke with no little acrimony. "The measures" he said "pursued in England for a year past are directly contrary to Her Majesty's engagements with the Allies, have sullied the triumphs and glories of her reign, and will render the English name odious to all other nations." Godolphin, though suffering from illness, spoke on the same side, as did also Wharton, Nottingham, and Cowper. They moved a clause in addition to the Address, that Her Majesty's Allies should be invited to join her in a mutual guarantee. Against this the Lord Treasurer contended, that such a scheme would subject the Queen and the whole treaty to the pleasure of the Allies who might prove backward and intractable; and that since England had borne the greatest share of the burthen of the war, it was reasonable that the Queen should be the principal arbiter of the Peace. These considerations appear to have prevailed with the Lords, who rejected the amendment by 81 votes against

36, and passed the Address in its first form. But a Protest, designed as a popular argument against the terms of the treaty, was signed by 24 Peers, Marlborough and Godolphin included. Like the former Protest it was expunged from the Journals by direction of the House, but it was put into print and circulated in great numbers through the country notwithstanding an Order of the Queen in Council, which was immediately levelled against it, offering a reward for the discovery of all persons concerned in the dissemination of this "malicious and scandalous paper."

The Commons of that day were fully determined not to be left behind in the race of tyranny; and to show the same zeal as either the Lords House or the Privy Council in suppressing the publications of their political opponents. With this view they fell upon a volume of Sermons just then sent forth in print by a most estimable prelate, Bishop Fleetwood of St. Asaph. These Sermons, four in number, were of old date, as preached on the deaths of Queen Mary and of the Duke of Gloucester, on the death of William, and on the accession of Anne. But they had a new Preface, in which the terms of peace proposed were earnestly lamented and condemned.[1] Sir Peter King, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and Mr. Lechmere stood forth in defence of the Bishop in the Commons; but the House heeded them not, and by a majority of 119 to 53 resolved that "the said Preface is malicious and factious" and that it "be burnt by the hands of the common hangman upon Thursday next (June the 12th) at twelve of the clock in Palace Yard, Westminster."

Fortified by this spirit in both the Houses the Ministers, immediately upon the Queen's speech of the 6th of June and the Addresses in reply, concluded an

[1] An eloquent passage from this Preface is cited in the History of England from the Peace of Utrecht, vol. i. p. 4. See also the Spectator, No. 384. This last was before the vote of the Commons.

CHAP. XV. 1712.

armistice with France, limited however to the space of two months and to the sphere of the Low Countries only. Orders were sent acordingly to Ormond to separate his army from Eugene's, and refraining from further warfare fall back and take quiet possession of Dunkirk. But Eugene and the Dutch Deputies anticipating a course of this kind had to some extent provided against it. They had addressed themselves in secret to the chiefs of the auxiliary troops in British pay, and had so successfully wrought upon their military ardour as to make them engage, that if Ormond should depart they would remain even against his orders and look elsewhere for their pay. When therefore the Duke did announce to his colleague the cessation of arms and broke up from his camp at Cateau Cambresis, he had the mortification to be followed only by the 12,000 men to which the English force was now reduced, together with four battalions of Holstein and one regiment of dragoons from Liege. Nor did his disappointments end here. As he marched back the Dutch governors of Bouchain, Tournay, and Douay closed their gates against him; and Ormond thereupon, as if in reprisal, took possession of Ghent and Bruges in the name of the Queen. He was now at hand and ready to throw also an English garrison into Dunkirk, but the King of France declaring that the question had been altered by the stubbornness of the British stipendiaries, appeared to hesitate, and delayed for some time the surrender of that fortress.

Even after the separation from Ormond the army of Eugene was still in its numbers slightly superior to the French. The Prince might still hope to prevail in the campaign. But this separation between gallant soldiers who had so long fought beneath the same banners, and had achieved so many triumphs shoulder to shoulder, was felt as a deep grief by all. A common Serjeant in the British ranks who was present has in homely but

impressive language described the scene: "As they marched off that day both sides looked very dejectfully on each other, neither being permitted to speak to the other to prevent reflections that might thereby arise."[2]

Some strong reasons there were certainly to urge for such a course. As St. John said in one of his despatches to Ormond, "the Queen cannot think with patience of sacrificing men when there is a fair prospect of attaining her purpose another way." But even allowing the utmost weight to these considerations we may still deplore the crooked policy which estranged us from our old Allies. We may acknowledge that this secession of the English troops with the enemy before them was painful and humiliating to all among them who thought of their former exploits achieved on the same plains.

The Session of Parliament, which had been protracted to a most unusual length, was closed by adjournment on the 21st of June and by prorogation on the 8th of July. Immediately upon the last event St. John was raised to the peerage—a reward which had been for some months past intended for him but delayed to enable him to carry through the business of the Session in the House of Commons. There was an Earldom of Bolingbroke in his family, which had become extinct only a year before, and it was this that St. John desired to revive. But Oxford, to mark his own supremacy in the Cabinet, insisted with the Queen that St. John should receive no higher rank than that of Viscount; and Viscount Bolingbroke he was made accordingly. To mark this supremacy in another manner also Oxford a few weeks later received from the Queen—or to speak more truly gave himself—the Order of the Garter. He was now at the very summit of honors.

Early in August the new Viscount set out for France to settle if he could by his presence the points in the

[2] Narrative of Serjeant Milner, p. 356, as cited by Coxe.

CHAP. XV. 1712.

negotiation that were still depending. He took with him both Prior and Gaultier. There were great marks of honor shown him on his way from Calais; and at Paris he was welcomed in a manner beseeming both his splendid talents and his eminent post. At nine o'clock one Sunday morning he was presented to the King at Fontainebleau and most graciously received. During his stay of about one fortnight at Paris he appears to have divided his time most impartially between business and pleasure. He brought to a decision several controverted questions in the terms of peace; and he paid court—and not without success—to the beautiful Countess de Parabère.[3] It was agreed between Bolingbroke and Torcy that Sicily should at the peace be ceded to the Duke of Savoy, who might then with the assent of all the Powers take the title of King. It was agreed that this Prince and his family should be named in succession to the Crown of Spain and the Indies, failing the descendants of Philip. It was further agreed, after many and warm attempts on the part of Torcy to extort a contrary decision, that England should stand free of any pledge or promise to obtain the restoration of the Elector of Bavaria.

The conditions of a treaty being thus far adjusted, Bolingbroke and Torcy signed a suspension of arms for four months, a term afterwards prolonged, and which was not, like the former, confined to the armies in the Netherlands but extending to all parts of the world both by land and sea. From this moment it may be said that in effect peace was re-established between the two nations, although minor matters, some unexpectedly arising, impeded its conclusion for months to come.

[3] Madame de Parabère afterwards became the favourite mistress of the Regent Duke of Orleans. His mother the Dowager Duchess calls her "la Sultane Reine," and adds a minute description of her charms. (Corresp. vol. i. p. 239, ed. Brunet.) I have seen only one portrait of her, an exquisite miniature, now in the collection of Earl Beauchamp at Madresfield Court.

In these negotiations with France and Spain, the case of the Catalans, betrayed by the English Ministers, and left unaided to the vengeance of Castille, forms, among many dark blots, perhaps the darkest in the political career of Bolingbroke. But I shall say nothing further of it at this place, since—together with its results extending far beyond the Peace of Utrecht—it is fully detailed elsewhere.[4]

The departure of the Pretender from France, so positively promised, had been accidentally delayed. Both he and his sister, the Princess Louisa, had fallen ill of the small pox. The young Princess died early in May, to the great grief of her family; and the Prince only regained his strength by slow degrees. On this plea, and even beyond his convalescence, he still lingered in the French capital, or near it. Bolingbroke always declared that he had no communication with him during his stay at Paris, and saw him only once, which was at the Opera at a great distance across the house.[5] At length, on the 7th of September, James, being warmly pressed by Torcy, did commence his journey, but he proceeded only to Chalons-sur-Marne, still within the French dominions.

When Bolingbroke set out from Paris, on his return to England, he had left Prior with a letter of credence as Chargé d'Affaires. We find that accomplished man—the poet, the wit, the politician—even from his outset in the closest intimacy with the leading Ministers. As he reports it to his chief, "I have a thousand compliments to make you. Every night I sup with M. de Torcy 'en famille.' Madame drinks two healths I have taught her 'à Harré et à Robin.'[6] Madame de Parabère is very proud of her good fortune."

[4] History of England from the Peace of Utrecht, vol. i. p. 99–105, and for the siege of Barcelona; the War of the Succession in Spain, p. 372–390.

[5] Swift's Works, vol. xvi. p. 297.

[6] Henry Viscount Bolingbroke and Robert Earl of Oxford. Bolingbroke's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 33.

CHAP. XV.

1712.

It was however by no means designed that a man of humble birth and station such as Prior should continue to represent the Queen in France. A man of the highest rank had been selected as Ambassador on either side. The French Court named the Duke d'Aumont, and the English Court named the Duke of Hamilton. But the last never proceeded to his post, for having unhappily engaged in a private quarrel on the subject of a lawsuit he was slain in a duel by Lord Mohun, who also fell.[7] Thus does Bolingbroke describe the tragical event: "My Lord Mohun had on Thursday given very brutal language to the Duke of Hamilton at the chambers of a Master in Chancery; the latter replied in no provoking manner, and intended to pass it over as the effect of wine; but the next day Mohun sent him a challenge by MacCarthy—that is, he who gave the affront demanded satisfaction of the person who received it. They fought, received three or four wounds each, and both died on the spot, or a few minutes after."[8] In the place of Hamilton as Ambassador, the Duke of Ormond was at first suggested, but finally the Duke of Shrewsbury was sent.

Meanwhile the campaign was in progress. Prince Eugene had pressed the siege of Le Quesnoy, and on the 3rd of July forced the town to surrender, the garrison to remain prisoners of war. Next he invested Landrecies as he had formerly proposed, being eager, it would seem, to prove to the world that the secession of the English had not altered his plans and would not affect his successes. On the other hand Marshal Villars more justly estimated the loss sustained by the Allies in an army even though a very small one of excellent

[7] Of this nobleman, who was completely, in French phrase, a *ferrailleur*, a character is to be found in Swift's Works (vol. x. p. 307). But Sir Walter Scott as editor has misprinted the name, changing Lord Mohun to Lord Mahon. I hope that I may be allowed to disclaim the honour of this relationship.

[8] Bolingbroke to Argyle, November 19, 1712.

troops which carried with them the renown and influence of the English name. He found also that he could gather to himself reinforcements from the garrisons of other French towns which, since the armistice, were no longer exposed to danger. Watching his opportunity with consummate skill he suddenly fell upon Denain. There Eugene had stationed a force of about 8,000 men, in great part Dutch, and commanded by the Earl of Albemarle; his object being to cover the lines which he had formed and to secure the passage of the convoys to his camp at Landrecies. Lord Albemarle, taken by surprise on the afternoon of the 24th of July, was put to the rout. The French chief slew or scattered the greater part of the force at Denain and took prisoners no less than 3,000; among these Albemarle and the Princes of Anhalt and Nassau-Siegen. To add to the poignancy of their defeat it had for one of its witnesses Eugene himself, who was approaching rapidly on the other bank of the Scheldt, but who was stopped short by the redoubt of the Denain bridge which the French had seized.

This triumph of the French, the first which they had achieved in the Low Countries for a period of many years, made of course on that account the stronger impression. It wrought especially upon the Dutch. The Ministers of that Republic had hitherto inclined to carry on the war even without the aid of England. They now saw that victory had departed from them at the same time with the British standards; and they felt that if they could not avert a peace at Utrecht, it would be wisest for them to take part in it.

The recent ascendency of Villars was moreover maintained by him through the rest of the campaign. Not only did he compel Eugene to raise the siege of Landrecies; not only did he reduce the small posts of Marchiennes, Mortaigne, and St. Amand, but he proceeded to invest Douay. That fortress, after a fruitless effort of Eugene to relieve it, yielded to his arms, and

CHAP. XV. 1712.

Villars found himself henceforward superior in numbers and master of the field. He was enabled to besiege and recover both Le Quesnoy, the conquest of Eugene in this very campaign, and Bouchain, the conquest of Marlborough in the last; and in this manner with great lustre to himself he concluded the operations of the year.

In Spain as in France we find in the course of this year diplomacy succeed to warfare. We find the British troops withdrawn from Catalonia; we find Lord Lexington sent ambassador to the Court of Madrid. The principal event in that country was the death of a great commander. The Duke of Vendome, prone to every form of self-indulgence, desired to avail himself of the lull in military operations, and hearing the sea-fish at the village of Vinaros highly renowned went thither, unattended by any of his officers, to pass some days in strict seclusion, and to gorge himself at will. Ere long he was seized with a surfeit, and other unexpected symptoms arising he was quickly at the point of death. Then his domestics, some of them bound to him by the basest ties, fled and left him, first plundering what they could. It is said that in piteous tones he pleaded, and pleaded perhaps in vain, that the coverlet might not be drawn from his bed before he had expired. Expire he did, thus forsaken and bereft, on the 10th of June. "In this ignominious manner" adds St. Simon "died the most haughty and arrogant of mankind."[9]

In the autumn of this year there was made to Gaultier an important overture respecting the Pretender, which he imparted in a secret letter to Torcy. "My Lord Bolingbroke," he writes, "desires to begin in right earnest some measures for the interest of Montgoulin; and for that object he presses to know who are those among the Whigs who, about eighteen months ago, offered Montgoulin to do him service if he would wholly

[9] Mémoires, vol. x. p. 315.

confide in them and follow their counsels in all that they advised. I would ask your Excellency to forward this letter to him after you have read it, if you see no objection. They assure me here that they have no kind of communication with him except only through your channel. I have told those who have spoken to me of him since my return of the assurances which you have given him on the part of your Master, that his removal from France would not prevent his being thought of when there should be an opportunity, always saving, however, the rights of Protose. As far as I could see, this resolution was deemed quite satisfactory. Be careful, if you please, that Mr. Prior should learn nothing of all this; for, as it appears to me, Lord Bolingbroke desires to keep it secret from him.[1]

In September of this year an eminent man was withdrawn from the political scene in England. There died the Earl Godolphin. His malady was the stone; and he had retired for rest and quiet to the house of the Duke of Marlborough near St. Alban's, where he closed his eventful and on the whole most prosperous career. It is worthy of note that his most confidential papers—the private letters to him of his Sovereign and of his colleagues—were brought to sale by auction and dispersed only a few months before the period at which the Preface of my present History is dated. The correspondence of Queen Anne especially—as the public was then enabled to peruse it—displays great violence in her likings and dislikings, but at the same time great rectitude of purpose. Thus, on September 12, 1707, she writes: "Whoever of the Whigs thinks I am to be hectored or frighted into a compliance, though I am a woman, is mightily mistaken in me. I thank God I have a soul above that, and am too much concerned for my reputation to do anything to forfeit it." In a postscript Anne desires that Godolphin "will not let this

[1] Letter dated October 12, 1712, N.S. (Archives des Affaires Étrangères.)

CHAP. XV. 1712.

be seen by anybody, no, not by my unkind friend;" by which she means the Duchess of Marlborough. In another letter, without date of year, the Queen desires his Lordship to look into the case of some Cinque Port officers, whom the Earl of Westmoreland as Lord Warden desired to dismiss, especially "one Mr. Herbert, who is Deputy-Governor of Dover Castle, and the Mayor of the town is intended to succeed him. . . . As for the Deputy-Governor," continues Her Majesty, "I never heard any character of him; but if what the Prince was told some time ago, of the Mayor of Dover ordering the bells to be rung upon a report of the Prince's laying down his post of Lord High Admiral be true, I cannot think he is a fit person to succeed Mr. Herbert or anybody else." And she adds, "Let me know the truth. For God's sake tell me your mind freely, for I would not err in any thing. Whenever I do, it will be my misfortune, but shall never be my fault; and, as long as I live, it shall be my endeavor to make my country and my friends easy; and though those that come after me may be more capable of so great a trust as it has pleased God to put into my poor hands, I am sure they can never discharge it more faithfully than her that is sincerely your humble servant, A. R."[2]

To Marlborough, the loss of Godolphin was indeed a great one, more especially at this the crisis of his later fortunes. The Duke stood henceforward almost alone in politics, little relied on or consulted by either party and in some doubt apparently as to his future course. Under such circumstances he deemed it politic to withdraw for a time from England. It was not without difficulty that he obtained a passport for the purpose. Thus does

[2] The Godolphin MSS. came up for auction by Messrs. Sotheby in April, 1869. Some of the most valuable were secured for the British Museum. But there has been a wide dispersion. Of the two letters of Queen Anne here quoted one was bought by a gentleman in Eaton Square and the other by a gentleman at Aberdeen.

Gaultier explain the case to Torcy: "My Lord Bolingbroke bids me write to you to-day, and let you know from him that the Duke of Marlborough has asked permission from the Queen to quit the kingdom and to travel in Italy, and that, after a good deal of contest and consideration, Her Majesty has given him leave. He is to pass by Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, and Liege to his principality (of Mindelheim), thence through the Tyrol to Venice, and finally to Naples, where he is to sojourn as long as he pleases. Such is the route which has been traced out for him without permission to pass anywhere else. My Lord Bolingbroke adds, that you need feel no uneasiness as to this journey of the Duke, since it is no longer in his power to do harm to any one."[3] 1712.

An abstract or summary of the passport so obtained has been printed in Coxe's biography; it is quite general in its terms, and states no limits to His Grace's route or residence; so that the restrictions enjoined were verbal only. It would appear also that, in the Cabinet, the grant of this passport was forwarded by Oxford and opposed by Bolingbroke.[4]

Marlborough accordingly embarked in the course of November and landed at Ostend. But when once upon the Continent he did not feel himself bound to adhere to the conditions under which the passport had been granted. From Aix-la-Chapelle he turned aside to Maestricht, where he was rejoined by his Duchess in the month of February following. After a short visit to the principality of Mindelheim so gloriously gained, he fixed his residence with Her Grace first at Frankfort and then at Antwerp, within easy reach of England. 1713.

The New Year found the Treaty of Peace by no means concluded—a matter of just surprise, since, as we

[3] Letter dated November 11, 1712, N. S. (Archives des Affaires Étrangères.)

[4] Coxe's Marlborough, vol. vi. p. 221.

CHAP. XV. 1713.

have seen, an agreement had been long since arrived at on the principal points at issue between France and England. This delay was due in part to the smaller Princes who, after much wavering, wished to be included, and who were by no means moderate in their pretensions; and in part to some insidious attempts of the French Ministers to avail themselves of the discord among the members of the Grand Alliance, and obtain on several points more favourable terms than those they had recently accepted. And as the affairs of the Peace so did those of the Pretender languish. The one indeed could only proceed in subordination and subsequently to the other. But the fault was also in part the Pretender's own.

In the first place James had persisted in remaining on French territory to the great discomposure of his English friends. We find Gaultier, on the 31st of January New Style, write as follows on the subject to Torcy: "It is absolutely necessary that the Chevalier de St. George should think of leaving the dominions of the King as soon as possible. I have orders from the Treasurer, and also from my Lord Bolingbroke, to let you know this very day that the Queen can never venture to sign the Peace so long as he continues in France. My Lord Bolingbroke told me this morning that he ought not to hesitate to go at once to Switzerland, if there continues to be any difficulty with the Emperor as to his safe-conduct to Lorraine."

But there were other points also on which James's conduct was complained of. Thus Gaultier goes on to say in the same letter, "Let Montgoulin know, if you please, that, in spite of the fine promises he made me, he has sent to this country—or, at least, there have been sent in his name—day by day, a number of priests, who spoil his business and cause him to be hated by all those to whom they speak of him. He ought to be very careful, and to send for some Protestants from hence to

be about his person. It is too early as yet to think of his case; let him wait, and he shall be apprised when the right time comes. You may be sure that every measure taken in his favour shall pass through your hands as we had agreed."

Thus pressed in the strongest manner, both from London and Versailles, the Chevalier did at last decide. He appears to have left Chalons on the 20th of February,[5] and he betook himself to Bar, in Lorraine. Even before this intelligence reached England the Abbé asked the advice of his confidential friends as to where—whether at Bar or at Berne—James had best fix his residence in the next ensuing months. Here is the answer as reported to Torcy. "It matters little where the Chevalier may pass the winter, provided only he departs from France and does not go to any place where the Duke of Marlborough could meet him." It would seem then that in England at this juncture the secret advisers of Gaultier suspected Marlborough of a design to make terms with the Pretender—terms, of course, on his own account, and not at all to their advantage.

As put in parallel with the Treasurer, the Secretary was at this time considered more especially the friend of France. We find Gaultier in his letters descant on "our incomparable Lord Bolingbroke, LE PHÉNIX DES ANGLAIS." It is therefore only just to the memory of a statesman, whose conduct on most points is not to be defended, to observe that, in this last conjuncture, Bolingbroke acted as became an English Minister. He hazarded his personal favor at the Court of Versailles rather than wink at its intrigues or submit to its dictation. So early as the 3rd of January he had expressed to the Earl of Strafford at the Hague his earnest desire of ending "this tedious, intricate, and so much traversed negotiation." But finding the French still chaffer on small points and shadowy distinctions, as though on

[5] See a note in Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 384.

CHAP. XV. 1713.

purpose to gain time, and seeking to derive advantage from the variety of views expressed at Utrecht, Bolingbroke, on the 17th of February, addressed a despatch to the Duke of Shrewsbury as ambassador at Paris—a despatch both haughty in its language and peremptory in its terms.[6]

In this despatch, of no common significance, Shrewsbury was directed to ask an immediate conference with the Ministers of France, and above all with M. de Torcy. He was to state to them that the Queen would endure no further suspense, nor consent much longer to postpone the meeting of her Parliament. At this meeting the result of the negotiations, one way or the other, ought to be, and it should be, explicitly declared. And, added Bolingbroke, "the fruit which the Queen expects from this full communication of her intentions is either by these means to hasten the conclusion of the General Peace between Her Majesty and the Crowns of France and Spain, or else at the worst to prevent at this season of the year and the approach of spring any surprise on either side."

With great ability and clearness Bolingbroke next proceeded to discuss the divers small articles not yet determined, and to declare the Queen's ultimatum upon each. There was a question as to the limits of the right of fishing on the coast of Nova Scotia, and the Queen insisted that the distance should be fixed at thirty leagues. The Queen persisted also in refusing the liberty claimed for the French subjects in the places to be ceded to sell their BONA IMMOBILIA. In regard to another privilege claimed for them, namely, the use of their own, the Roman Catholic, religion, the Queen would grant it only with this proviso, "as far as is consistent with the laws and policy of Great Britain." In the treaty with Portugal the Queen refused to allow the claim of France for an equal right to the navi-

[6] See Bolingbroke's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 170 and 256.

gation of the Amazon river. As regards the Elector of Bavaria, Anne was willing that he should retain the sovereignty of Luxemburg until he had a satisfaction made to him on account of his claims in Germany, but he was not to be himself the judge of that satisfaction. As regards the Barrier of Holland the French had agreed, after a long struggle, to yield the town and territory of Tournay, but they desired, and might be permitted, to retain the small posts of St. Amand and Mortaigne. On the other hand they must give up all claim to the fortress and the several dependencies of Ypres. Only as to Bailleul a discretion was allowed to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

The effect of this firmness was decisive. Torcy and his colleagues saw, with some alarm, that the much-desired Peace might slip from them if its terms were strained too far. They agreed almost at once to everything demanded, and Torcy, with all the gaiety and good humour of his countrymen, even when baffled in an object, protested that he had been all along as eager to conclude as they could be in England. Instructions were sent accordingly to Utrecht, and there were no further delays beyond what the slow forms of diplomacy in that age required. With this prospect Bolingbroke could also look with cheerfulness on the conduct of home affairs. Thus he wrote again to Shrewsbury on the 3rd of March: "I think the Whigs seem to give up the success of this Session. Their principal heroes are gone the circuit: Nottingham is pelted from all quarters. I cannot help saying in the fulness of my soul to your Grace, that if we do not establish ourselves and the true interests of our country it is the Queen's and Treasurer's fault. The clamour of Jacobitism seems to be the only resource of our enemies; and I am sorry to tell you that the Duke of Argyle gives too affectedly into that poor artifice." For Argyle, who had of a sudden joined

CHAP. XV.

the Tories, was now with his usual versatility veering back to the Whigs.

1713. The difficulties, great and small, of the negotiation having been in this manner surmounted, the treaties were signed at Utrecht on the 31st of March according to the style of England, the 11th of April according to the style of the southern Continental nations. There was signed a Treaty of Peace and next a Treaty of Commerce between France and England. There were signed on the same day separate Treaties for the States of Holland, the King of Portugal, the King of Prussia, and the Duke of Savoy. The Treaty between England and Spain was in formal conclusion for some weeks further postponed; and the Emperor's Peace with France re-establishing the two Electors was not signed until next year at Rastadt, on the 6th of March, between Villars and Eugene.

It is the earlier day however—the 31st of March in English style—which forms the point of departure for those Histories of England which profess to commence at the Peace of Utrecht.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE AGE OF ANNE.

As the Ancients might boast of their Augustan age; as in England men point with pride to the age of Elizabeth, in Italy to the age of Leo the Tenth, and in France to the age of Louis the Fourteenth, so again among the English a halo has gathered round the age of Anne. Succeeding as she did a Dutch and to be succeeded by a German King, she holds in our Literature an especial and an English place; and thus full many works of genius and renown, though they may have been commenced under William or continued under George, are taken by the world to be centered in her reign.

Certainly it was an illustrious period, a period not easily paralleled elsewhere, that could combine the victories of Marlborough with the researches of Newton —the statesmanship of Somers with the knight-errantry of Peterborough—the publication of Clarendon's History with the composition of Burnet's—the eloquence of Bolingbroke in Parliament and of Atterbury in the pulpit, with the writings in prose and verse of Swift and Addison, of Pope and Prior. It is also deserving of note how frequent was the intercourse and how familiar the friendship in those days between the leaders of political parties and the men in the front rank of intellectual eminence. Since Queen Anne there has not been found in England the same amount of intimacy between them, or any thing like the same amount. If this were only to say that the men who were Ministers, or who desired to be so, sought out or consorted with those persons who they thought could assist them in

CHAP. XVI.

THE AGE OF ANNE.

their objects as negotiators, as pamphleteers, or as party writers, the fact would scarce be worthy the remark. Even thus however it is not always that a Secretary of State and a Chargé d'Affaires would, as Bolingbroke at St. James's and Matthew Prior at Paris, drop the "My Lord" and "Sir" in all letters not strictly official, and prefer to write to each other as "Harry to Matt" and "Matt to Harry." But the case went much further than this.

Somers and Halifax especially on one side, Bolingbroke and Oxford on the other, being themselves accomplished in literature, loved the society of men of letters for its own sake, and although there might not be the smallest prospect of any political advantage accruing from it. Nay more, they would sometimes on personal grounds help forward or promote an adherent or at least a well wisher of the opposite side. With men of genius of whatever rank they lived not on the footing of chiefs or patrons but on equal terms as friends. All state or ostentation was avoided. Thus when Harley was created Earl of Oxford he would not for some time allow Swift to call him by his new title, and whenever Swift did so Oxford gave a jesting nickname in return. Thus also one day at Court, when Oxford as Lord Treasurer was in state attire and held the White Staff in his hand, he walked up through the crowd of courtiers to Swift and asked to be made known to Dr. Parnell who was standing by. "I value myself" says Swift "upon making the Ministry desire to be acquainted with Parnell and not Parnell with the Ministry."[1] Indeed there was perhaps no man of his time more

[1] Journal to Stella, January 31, 1713. In a letter from Swift to Pope dated January 10, 1721, we further find: "I can never forget the answer he (the Earl of Oxford) gave to the late Lord Halifax who, upon the first change of the Ministry, interceded with him to spare Mr. Congreve; it was by repeating these two lines of Virgil,

Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Pœni:
Nec tam aversus equos Tyriâ Sol jungit ab urbe."

genial, more truly at home with men of genius, more thoroughly enjoying their converse and desirous of their friendship, than this the last of the Lord Treasurers of England. They were not ungrateful; and through their means it has happened that, while Harley is but little to be valued or honored as a statesman, he shines in History with a lustre not his own. Certainly if he showed favor to the Muses the debt has been most amply repaid.[2]

Frank and open as were the statesmen of that age in their conversation with their friends, they were, and with good reason, reserved and cautious in their correspondence while their adversaries were in power. This arose from the ill practice, continued to a much later period, of opening letters at the post. In the reign of Queen Anne we may observe frequent complaints on that score. Thus, when in the autumn of 1710 Craggs was returning home from his post at Barcelona, we find him address Stanhope as follows from the Hague: "I writ you the 9th instant I would go straight to England. But having considered better, I am resolved to go to my Lord Duke first (at his camp in Flanders), for I believe he will be glad to give me several commissions which he dares not trust in writing, because they break open his letters in England; and the new ones say they have already found several material things in letters betwixt him and my Lord Treasurer. I will write to you very plainly from the army, but I am afraid I shall not be able from England." [3]

Political writings in this reign acquired for the first time perhaps an immediate influence on political events. Nor is the reason hard to trace. There were as yet no regular reports however meagre of the principal debates.

[2] I allude especially to the noble lines which were addressed to him in Pope's Epistle to accompany the gift of Parnell's poems. They commence

A soul supreme in each hard instance tried.

[3] Letter dated Sept. 12, 1710 (MS.).

There had already arisen in the country a desire to learn the motives and the main-springs of affairs. Thus when St. John had spoken in the House of Commons, or Cowper in the House of Peers, it was known that the best orator among the Tories, or the best orator among the Whigs, had set forth, with every grace of eloquence and every power of argument, the tenets of his party. But no one could be stirred by that eloquence or won over by those arguments beyond the members of either House and the handful of strangers in the gallery. It became necessary therefore for a party chief, desiring to have influence with the public, either himself to take up the pen, as was sometimes the case with St. John and others, or else to seek writers of ability who could do in pamphlets what he had done in speeches.

In the last administration of Queen Anne this war of pamphlets was waged with especial acrimony and no less ability. On the Tory side the most conspicuous writer was Swift; on the Whig side Addison. Swift directed for some months a weekly paper, "the Examiner," in which his adversaries were most fiercely assailed. Addison contributed some essays to the Opposition print "the Whig Examiner," which was doomed to a speedy extinction, but which was succeeded by another of the same class, "the Medley." Of Swift and Addison—those early friends, those ever eminent adversaries—it may however be said that they were equal rather than alike. For graceful style, for polished satire, for delicate delineation of character, Addison has never been surpassed; but on the stage of active politics he was scarce a match for the passionate ardour, the withering irony, of Swift.

It was not merely in periodical publications that these and others were at this period contending. There also came forth from time to time separate pamphlets of great popular effect. Thus in the autumn of 1711 Walpole published "The Debts of the Nation stated

and considered" and "The Thirty-five Millions accounted for"—these giving in a small compass an answer to the charges against the late administration.[4] Thus again in the spring of 1712 there was sent out by Swift "The Conduct of the Allies;" his object being to show that our confederates had grossly failed in their engagements both as to money and to troops, and that, as Dr. Johnson puts it, "we had been bribing our neighbours to fight their own battles."[5]

Two other men who wielded their pens with powerful effect were Steele on the Whig and Prior on the Tory side. At the heels of each came a numerous tribe of writers, all full of party zeal, but most of them, such for instance as Oldmixon, little distinguished by ability and not at all by truth.

Far, very far, above these last in genius and power of writing stood Defoe, though not raised beyond their level in points of party rancour. Of this a strong instance occurred during the prosecution of Sacheverell. That prosecution, however we may deem it ill-considered and unwise, was at least clear and straightforward. It was aimed at a public discourse—it was pressed upon national grounds. But it was not the fault of Defoe that it did not degenerate into a prying and inquisitorial process of the lowest kind. For thus did he address General Stanhope in a letter which is preserved at Chevening: "Sir, as it is my misfortune not to have the honor to be known to you, so at this time it may be some loss to the public interest in the affair of Sacheverell which you are managing—pardon me the word—with so much applause. . . Nothing, Sir, has withheld me from blackening and exposing this insolent priest but a nicety of honor, that I thought it dishonorable to strike him when he was down, or to fall on him when he had other enemies to engage. But

[4] Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. i. p. 35.

[5] Life of Swift (Johnson's Works, vol. xi. p. 14, ed. 1810).

since, Sir, his defence is made up of false suggestions, as to his being for the Revolution; and his character is part of his applause among the rabble; and particularly since you find it necessary to represent him right to those who are his judges, I chose rather to be impertinent than that you should not be let a little way into his character, to the truth of which I will at any time appear and produce sufficient testimony; at the same time running the venture of the indignation both of the Doctor and his rabble, with which I am severely and openly threatened. First, Sir, as to his morals. I do not say there are members in your House who have been drunk with him a hundred times and can say enough of that to you, because I know it would be said to press gentlemen to betray conversation; but if you please to converse with Mr. Duckett, a member of your House, or with Colonel Oughton, of the Guards, they will (especially the first) furnish you abundantly on that head; or, at least, they can. Then, Sir, as to his favouring the Revolution, that he has drunk King James's health upon his knees—that he has spoken so scandalously of the Government that some strangers have asked him if he had taken the oaths to the Queen, and being answered by him that he had, have expostulated with him how it was possible either that talking in that manner he could take the oaths, or that taking the oaths he could talk in that manner. And lastly (as to the Revolution also) I shall name you two persons, viz. Samuel Eborall of Birmingham and the Minister of Birmingham—I think his name is Smith, but can come to a certain knowledge of the name. These can make proof even to conviction, that in their hearing he said with an oath in the late King William's reign, he (Sacheverell) believed that he (the King) would come to be De Witted, and that he hoped to live to see it. . . If I had the honour to know you, Sir, I might give you fuller accounts, and if you should think it for your

service I shall do it whenever you please."[6] It is only just to General Stanhope to observe, that he took no heed of these ignominious counsels, and invited no further communication from Defoe.

It is worthy of note that at this period all or nearly all the writers connected with the monied interest took part with the Whigs. Nor is this surprising when we find that interest so much undervalued and distrusted on the other side. What, for instance, would be deemed in the present day of such a doctrine as the following? "I ever abominated that scheme of politics, now about thirty years old"—this was written in 1721—"of setting up a monied interest in opposition to the landed. For I conceived there could not be a truer maxim in our government than this, that the possessors of the soil are the best judges of what is for the advantage of the kingdom."—Yet this was no hasty opinion expressed in party heat. It was written deliberately and in retirement from politics. Nor was it the judgment of any obscure or inferior writer; for these are the words of Swift.[7]

In nearly all the cases of party pamphlets in this reign the author's name was not given, and great pains were taken to withhold all official proof of it. And that with very good reason. The prevailing party, whichever it might be at the time, was equally prone, either through the Queen in Council or through one or other House of Parliament, to take the most rigorous measures against any publication which displeased them, and if the author were not declared or not discovered they would fine and imprison the printer.

A striking instance may be given how in that age even a rhyming parody or jesting pasquinade was deemed sufficient to call forth the strong arm of the law. Swift, upon a hint from Lord Oxford, had com-

[6] Letter dated March 8, 1710 (MS.).

[7] Letter to Pope, January 10, 1721.

posed an imitation in verse of Lord Nottingham's famous speech against the peace. It was produced at a meeting of the newly-formed Society or Club of the choice spirits among the Tory party. Swift has noted in his diary how at the close of dinner "the printer came before we parted and brought the ballad, which made them laugh very heartily a dozen times."[8] On the public it seems to have had a like effect. It begins: "An orator dismal of Nottinghamshire;" Dismal having been his former nickname; and it certainly contains many most severe and spiteful touches, but as certainly it would be passed by in the present day as a matter of no concern, unworthy the attention of Parliament. In the reign of Queen Anne it was not so regarded. Nottingham himself brought it forward as a subject of complaint in the House of Lords, and on the 15th of December, 1711, a Committee was appointed "to inquire who is the author, 'printer,' and 'publisher of the said paper.'" On the 22nd the Duke of Devonshire reported from the Committee "that their Lordships find the said paper to be false and scandalous and printed by a sham name; and that by the oath of Sarah Vickers it appears to have been printed by Andrew Hind, living in Peterborough Court, near Fleet Street." The Committee recommended and the House ordered that Hind should be taken into the custody of the Black Rod; and in custody he remained until the 19th of January, when upon petitioning their Lordships he was discharged.

From this and from other indications it seems clear that the sting of satires and libels was much more keenly felt in that age than it is in ours. This is most striking in the case of a man so serene, so self-possessed, so far raised, it might be thought, above such puny attacks as Marlborough. We find him in his confidential letters to the Duchess from abroad declare that he is in the power

[8] Journal to Stella, December 6, 1711.

of the Ministers, "especially" he adds "by the villanous way of printing which stabs me to the heart."[9] So disquieted was he that he applied to Secretary St. John on the subject in a manner by no means consistent with his dignity. He referred to some recent articles in the Examiner, and entreated that the writers in that paper might have directions to spare him for the future. St. John thus loftily replied: "Your Grace may be assured of my services in every instance, and I shall be glad to see you—which it is in your power to be—the subject of universal panegyric. . . I have taken care to have the proper hint given to the Examiner."[1]

The Duchess was much less sensitive to libels than her husband. Many of those on her own side of the question were composed under her influence and sent to press through her trusty agent Mr. Maynwaring. It was also probably at her instigation that the Duke's Chaplain, Dr. Hare, preached a political sermon, of which the Ministers complained, reflecting severely on the terms of peace. In return the Duchess became the object of many and most virulent attacks, not only in ballads or pamphlets but also in novels and romances. Of these last one of the most curious now lies before me. It is a small volume in French with the titlepage as follows: "Histoire secrète de la Reine Zarah et des Zaraziens; ou la Duchesse de Marlborough démasquée. À Oxford, 1711. Avec approbation de la Nation Britannique." —To name Oxford however as the place of printing seems to me only a blind, and I have no doubt at all that the volume came from a foreign press.

In this volume the imputations are for the most part political; they refer in the main to Court and State cabals. But what shall we say of the New Atalantis? There the affairs of the nation are reduced to the second rank. There the great ladies then in Opposition, and as

[9] Letter dated April 6, 1711. Coxe's Marlborough, vol. vi. p. 9.

[1] Bolingbroke's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 60 and 71.

chief among them the Duchess of Marlborough, fill the principal place. They are described as engaging in amours that had no foundation at all in fact, and that are given with such glowing minuteness of detail as only the favoured lover could supply.[2] Never yet has party rancour assumed a more unjustifiable, a more malignant form. Such being the character of the book, and such also the dangerous fascination of its style, we may wonder to find it allowed as reading to young ladies of that day. We find the beautiful Lady Mary Pierrepont, afterwards so well known as Wortley Montagu, eagerly expecting the second part by the Nottingham carrier, and promising to lend it to her friend Miss Hewet. She adds, "But do you know what has happened to the unfortunate authoress? People are offended at the liberty she uses in her Memoirs and she is taken into custody. Miserable is the fate of writers; if they are agreeable they are offensive, and if dull they starve."[3]

That authoress was by name Mrs. Manley. Considering her loose book and still looser life it is greatly to the discredit of Swift that he was in communication with her on her writings, and endeavoured to promote her interests. Thus he writes to Stella, July 3, 1711: "Lord Peterborough desired to see me this morning at nine. I met Mrs. Manley there, who was soliciting him to get some pension or reward for her service to the cause by writing her Atalantis and her prosecution upon it. I seconded her, and hope they will do something for the poor woman."

Besides the numerous pieces in verse which in this age served as the vehicle of party attacks, there were others that better deserved the title of national. Such were

[2] For the Duchess of Marlborough's love-adventure (wholly fictitious) with Godolphin, see vol. ii. p. 134–140, in the later edition of 1736. In that edition the names are given in the notes; but in the former there was a separate "key."

[3] Works of Lady M. W. Montagu, vol. iii. p. 211 and 213. Lord Wharncliffe's edition.

those on the battle of Blenheim, which certainly produced almost as much bad poetry as it did good fighting. A large collection might be formed of the pompous effusions in epic or high heroic style—some of them printed in folio size—which appeared on this great event. It has often been related how Godolphin, much displeased with these poor performances, asked Halifax to name to him some poet worthy the occasion—how Halifax named Addison, then lodging up three pair of stairs over a shop in the Haymarket—how Godolphin sent Henry Boyle, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a message to that garret-chamber—and how Addison undertook the task thus honorably tendered to him. The poem which he produced in consequence, called "the Campaign," was hailed at the time with admiration; and even now, when its immediate interest has passed, it may still be read with pleasure. It laid, as it deserved, the foundation of his subsequent fortunes.

Some seven years later it fell to the lot of Addison, by another composition of high merit, to promote the cause if not of his country at least of his friends. The first four acts of his tragedy of Cato had lain unfinished in his desk ever since his foreign travel. But in the spring of 1712 a fifth act being added, the Whig chiefs considered that it might be turned to political account. At that crisis, when they were charging on their opponents a tendency to arbitrary principles and despotic rule, the noble lines of this tragedy if declaimed with spirit might produce a powerful effect. Cæsar and his followers might be held to represent the Tories, and Sempronius those Whigs who had been drawn in to support them, while the lofty bursts of patriotism which Cato utters would point to another as unswerving opposition, and indicate the party of Halifax and Somers.

Addison, a man as is well known of most modest and sensitive temper, would greatly have preferred to print

his play without exposing it to the hazards of the stage. But the importunity of his leaders in public life at length prevailed with him, and he gave the tragedy to the managers of Drury Lane. Every effort was made to ensure its triumphant success. Booth, the first tragedian of his time, undertook the part of Cato. Steele, incited both by party zeal and by personal friendship, promised to pack the House. The first representation had been fixed in Easter week, on Friday the tenth of April, and on that night, in eager expectation, the boxes were thronged with rank and beauty, chiefly though by no means wholly from the Whig side. Into the pit there was poured, as Steele devised it, a band of friendly and intelligent listeners from the Inns of Court. Another such band came from Will's Coffeehouse, which was then to men of letters what the Athenæum is now. These together made up the class of persons called in the quaint language of their day "men of wit and honor about town." It is to them that Pope referred some time afterwards. Full of spleen and jealousy at the success of his early friend, he declared that, whenever Addison held forth, "wits and Templars every sentence raise."

Nor were allies from the City wanting. Sir Gilbert Heathcote, at this time Governor of the Bank and well known for his zeal in Opposition, sent down a whole array of clerks and accountants; men eager to show their true Whig principles, but, as was noticed at the time, requiring considerable guidance as to what passages they ought properly to cheer, and exposed to some ridicule on that account. But several even of the Whig chiefs and leaders, men perfectly skilled in criticism, might perhaps have been the better that night for something of check and control. The callousness to shame of one of them has been with great force condemned by Lord Macaulay. "Wharton" he says "who had the incredible effrontery to applaud the lines about

flying from prosperous vice and from the power of impious men to a private station, did not escape the sarcasms of those who justly thought that he could fly from nothing more vicious or impious than himself."[4]

With such precautions and such appliances the tragedy, independent of its merits, could scarcely fail to succeed. But there was one circumstance which had not been foreseen, and which, while it enhanced the triumph of the author, dimmed that of his political friends. The Tories saw no reason why they should take to themselves the passages reflecting on arbitrary power. Therefore, admiring as they did the fine lines, they began to cheer them quite as loudly as the Whigs. It was reserved for Bolingbroke however, by a most ready retort, to parry in the completest manner the party thrust that his enemies intended. Having summoned Booth to his box in the interval between two acts he publicly presented him with a purse of fifty guineas, and thanked him for having defended the cause of liberty so well against a perpetual Dictator. This was clearly understood as referring to the attempt which had been made by Marlborough, and which I have elsewhere related, to extort from the Queen a patent creating him Captain-General for life. The Whigs, says Pope, design a second present when they can accompany it with as good a sentence.

The literary works of the Queen Anne period, both prose and verse, show a considerable approximation to the style of France. Thus the very performance which I have just now been discussing, is formed much more upon the model of the great French writers in the reigns of Louis the Thirteenth and Fourteenth than upon our own in the reign of James the First. If we compare the Cato of Addison with the Cinna of Corneille and the Julius Cæsar of Shakespeare—all three plays relating to

[4] Essay on Addison, first published in the Edinburgh Review, July 1843, p. 64, ed. 1852.

the same people at nearly the same period—this divergence from the last-named writer becomes especially apparent. The same tendency went on increasing to the next age. As examples it may be noted that the diction of David Hume or Horace Walpole is far more French than that of Bolingbroke, although of the three Bolingbroke had resided much the longest time in France, had married a French wife, and even at almost the outset of his career had made himself, as his French despatches prove, a thorough master of that foreign idiom. In writing French he would even sign himself St. Jean instead of St. John. But he had kept pure and undefiled in his mind the well-springs of his native language; and his style in his political writings is perhaps the very highest perfection of English prose.

The men of letters of Queen Anne's reign—those above all of the Whig party—derive especial lustre from the collections of periodical essays which in their various merits have never yet been equalled in any other country, or in any other age. Of these periodical papers Steele was the founder, but Addison was the prop and mainstay. Steele had been appointed, by the favor of Lord Sunderland, to the post of Gazetteer. As such, besides receiving a salary—very acceptable to a man of his spendthrift habits—he had early access to foreign intelligence; and it occurred to him that a paper would be certain of success which should communicate that intelligence at once to rural readers. According then to the plan of Steele the new paper was to appear on the days on which in that age the post left London for the country, namely on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays; and besides the news from abroad the paper was to contain some articles on the current topics of the day, however various in kind, as criticism, accounts both of popular sermons and of popular plays. To give unity to the whole by the name of an Editor, Steele announced that the paper would be published by "Isaac Bicker-

staff, Esquire, Astrologer," a fictitious person, already the occasion of much banter among the wits of that age. Such was the origin of "the Tatler," of which the first number appeared on the 12th of April, 1709.

Addison was then in Ireland as Secretary, with Wharton as Lord Lieutenant—most truly an ill-assorted pair. He had not been consulted on this scheme, but no sooner was it started than he gave it his active support. Mainly through him it was raised far above the ephemeral character which had been at first designed; and there came to be inserted a succession of essays which, afterwards collected into volumes, have taken a permanent place in the literature of this country.

Of the essays which appeared in the Tatler, two hundred and seventy-one in number, not less than fifty were contributed by Addison. In merit these were greatly superior to the rest. It is probably no exaggeration of Lord Macaulay to declare, that any five of his writing are more valuable than all the two hundred numbers in which he had no share.

The change of Ministers from Whig to Tory, which affected so many other things, affected the Tatler also. Steele lost his place as Gazetteer. By the intercession of his personal friends he was suffered to retain another small office that he held as Commissioner of Stamps, but this was on a pledge, implied if not expressed, that he should take no active part against the new administration. Thus the Tatler ceased to retail foreign intelligence. It ceased also to discuss home affairs. Its whole character was changed. Better far, thought Steele, bring it to a close, and start another series of papers on a more consistent plan. This was done accordingly. The last number of the Tatler appeared on the second of January, 1711, and the Preface of "the Spectator" on the first of March ensuing. Unlike its predecessor this new series was to be published daily, Sundays however excepted.

The character of the Spectator was drawn by Addison —certainly not without some reference to his own. The Spectator is described as a gentleman of middle age and studious habits, with a cultivated mind improved by foreign travel, but afflicted with an invincible shyness, so that although he makes many observations on men and manners he is almost always a mute in society, and at his ease only with a small club of familiar friends.

In the members of this small Club, besides the Spectator himself, it was intended to delineate some of the principal classes and professions. There was Sir Roger de Coverley, the Tory baronet of Worcestershire, and Sir Andrew Freeport, the Whig merchant of London; there was Will Honeycomb, a gray-haired man of pleasure about town, conversant in all the fashionable follies of the time; there was Captain Sentry the soldier; there was also, though only in dim outline, the lawyer and the clergyman.

The first sketch of this Club, as the first design of the Tatler, was due to Steele. But Addison took at once into his hands the characters of Sir Roger de Coverley and Will Honeycomb, and moulded them with a degree of genius and skill to which Steele could make no claim. The portraiture of Sir Roger above all, and the several essays which unfold it, have taken rank among the classics of the language. So delicately is it poised that the goodnatured ridicule in many passages is never inconsistent with sincere respect, nor yet the respect with ridicule. While we smile at the stubborn prejudices of the good old Knight, we are touched by his overflowing kindliness and genial warmth of heart.

There are many things that may be gleaned from those vivid pages in regard to the manners and feelings of the time, both when the Spectator goes to visit his friend in the country and when Sir Roger appears in town. At Coverley Hall the Spectator surveys the

ancient mansion and the patriarchal household—"the domestics all in years and grown old with their master. You trace his goodness even in the old house-dog and in the grey pad that is kept in the stable, with great care and tenderness, in regard to his past services, though he has been useless for several years." The Spectator is put under the special charge of the butler, "a very prudent man," and he consorts chiefly with the Chaplain, who has been in the house thirty years—no deep Divine perhaps in School Theology but unbounded in his kindness to the parish poor. "Wishing to put him under an obligation" said Sir Roger "I intend to leave them thirty marks in my Will." The Chaplain has moreover all the requisites that Sir Roger in selecting him desired, namely "plain sense, a good aspect, a clear voice, and a sociable temper, and if possible to know a little of backgammon." The Spectator attends the Sunday service at the Church, where Sir Roger has presented to each of the parishioners, all of them his tenants, a Prayer Book and a hassock—he observes the stable doors "patched with noses that belonged to foxes of the Knight's own hunting down"—he rides with his friend to the Assizes, and sees Sir Roger rise and make a speech of two or three sentences, "with a look of much business and great intrepidity"—all the gentlemen of Worcestershire afterwards gathering about him and striving who should compliment him most, and all the common people gazing with awe at the great man who was not afraid to speak to the Judge.—On the other hand we find the Knight come up to London for the purpose of seeing Prince Eugene, or as he always calls him Prince Eugenio, during the few weeks that great chief was in England. He walks among the monuments in Westminster Abbey and listens open-mouthed to the recitals of the guide, "particularly to the account he gave us of the Lord who had cut off the King of Morocco's head." He is rowed upon the

Thames, which he declares to be the noblest river in Europe, but is moved to grief at observing so few steeples on this side Temple Bar. "A most heathenish sight!" he cries. "But the fifty new churches will very much mend the prospect." He has fears lest he should be assailed by the Mohocks, and does not wish to venture forth in the evenings, but he is comforted by Captain Sentry, who assures him that he, the Captain, has put on the same sword that he made use of at the battle of Steenkirk. Under such auspices, and flanked also by the old butler with an oaken cudgel, Sir Roger takes heart and consents to go out and see the new tragedy by Ambrose Philips at Drury Lane.

It is much to be regretted that at this juncture Steele, without the consent of Addison, thrust in his coarser hand. The good old Knight was represented in another London scene wholly alien to the dignity and delicacy of his character. Addison, as was natural, took fire; and resolved at any sacrifice to guard from farther blemish the favourite creation of his brain. "I will kill Sir Roger" he said "that nobody else may murder him."[5] There came forth accordingly a final essay from his pen. The old butler writes to the Spectator from the country, and announces in homely but pathetic terms of grief, the demise after a short illness of his honored master. "It was a most moving sight to see him take leave of his poor servants, commending us all for our fidelity, whilst we were not able to speak a word for weeping."

But if even Steele had forborne his untoward interference it is probable that the Spectator would soon have been brought to a conclusion, since it was beginning to be felt that the rich mine of humor yielded by the members of the Club was nearly worked out. And

[5] The Bee, p. 26, as cited in Mr. Wills's notes to the Coverley Papers. Addison may, in part at least, have derived this saying from the play of *L'Avocat Patelin*, where the shepherd *Aynelet* declares: "Quand mes moutons ont la clavelée, je les tue pour les empêcher de mourir!"

there was yet another reason. During the Session of 1712 there had been many complaints of the licentiousness of the press as tending to "false and scandalous libels." It had been one topic both in a Message of the Queen to Parliament and in the Address of the House of Commons in reply. A victim was sought and was not long to find. In the course of April, Samuel Buckley of the Dolphin, Little Britain, printer of the first daily newspaper the "Daily Courant" and printer also as it chanced of the Spectator, was brought in custody to the bar of the House of Commons. He was charged with having inserted in his paper a Memorial of the States General severely reflecting on the conduct of the English Government in relation to the terms of peace. For this offence—no more in fact than reproducing a foreign state-paper as an article of news—the poor man was sent to prison. But the incensed majority in the House of Commons was intent on a more general measure that should serve for prevention as well as punishment. With this view, after passing some strong Resolutions against the licentiousness of the press, they proceeded to impose a halfpenny stamp Duty on all periodical papers. Under the weight of this Tax many of the journals succumbed—probably the very thing that the framers of the Tax desired. But the Spectator, though compelled to double its price, maintained its ground. By that time its daily distribution of copies had grown to almost four thousand, so that there was margin for the considerable falling off which ensued. It might however afford another motive to put a close to the paper in good time before its popularity had waned or its decline become apparent.

Under such circumstances Number 555 appearing on the 6th of December, 1712, was the last in this series of Spectators. The essays hitherto single were collected and published together, making seven volumes, to which an eighth was subsequently added by Addison, its first

CHAP. XVI. THE AGE OF ANNE.

number appearing in June 1714. The sale of these collected essays was wholly without precedent in that age. It was said, probably with some exaggeration, that full ten thousand copies of each successive volume were disposed of in the first issue.

Steele, ever fertile in schemes, was already planning a new paper, to be called "the Guardian" and to comprise a different set of characters; Nestor Ironside especially and the whole of the Lizard family. The first number was published on the 12th of March, 1713. Addison at the outset withheld his aid. It was not till the sixty-seventh number that there came any contribution from his pen. The main cause was no doubt, as Lord Macaulay states it, that he was at that time busy in bringing Cato on the stage; but it may be also that he had not quite forgiven Steele for poaching in the Coverley preserves.

The Guardian had but scant success. Its characters were ill drawn and feebly supported, and the decline of the publication was decided ere Addison's help arrived.[6] Only by party aid and by a larger infusion of party spirit did it carry into the autumn months its lingering existence. It was seen that the Spectator could not be rivalled—not even by the writers of the Spectator themselves. Still less was it rivalled in the ensuing age, even although the great genius of Dr. Johnson produced "the Rambler," and a whole cluster of wits combined to illustrate "the World."

But the Spectator has yet another claim of merit. In the very short but light and graceful stories, or the vivid sketches of character which it comprises, lies perhaps the germ of the modern novel. There was scarce any work deserving of that name in its higher sense when Queen Anne commenced her reign. There was scarce

[6] "Did I tell you that Steele has begun a new daily paper called the Guardian?—they say good for nothing. I have not seen it." Journal to Stella, April 1, 1713.

any thing beyond licentious tales like those of Mrs. Behn, or interminable romances, describing in fact the manners of Versailles, though in name the manners of Persia and Babylon, as above all in the Grand Cyrus translated from the French of Mademoiselle de Scudery. It was reserved for Addison especially to show the English people how prose-fictions may be made most interesting without any admixture of loose scenes, or being drawn out in all the pomp of Eastern story. Not that the existing defects were at once removed. We find them still subsist, though greatly mitigated, in the next ensuing age. We find ample traces of the former English grossness in Roderick Random and Tom Jones. We find as ample traces of the former French LONGUEURS in the six volumes of Sir Charles Grandison and the seven of Clarissa Harlowe. But passing by these instances and looking to the English novel-writers of the present century, we may perhaps acknowledge that Addison and others in Queen Anne's reign laid the slight foundation on which so vast a superstructure has been raised. Looking to the novels of this century, that is to the best of them, and to their writers—some of whom have also in other spheres of eminence imprinted their spirit on the age, and shone forth as master-minds in poetry or politics—it must be felt on all sides how great is the variety of interest which they have afforded, and how high the pitch of excellence which they have attained. Few writers have ever comprised so much of wit and wisdom in so agreeable a form; none have ever addressed themselves to a wider circle of readers. Novels are read by women, even by those who read nothing else; and novels are read by men, even by those who read every thing else.

The excellent example set by Queen Anne in her private conduct, as also the observance of virtue which she maintained in her Court and household, have been

CHAP. XVI.

THE AGE OF ANNE.

acknowledged even by those who did not entirely approve it, and were inclined to a laxer rule of life. As an unwilling, or it might be said unconscious, witness to her merit on this point we may cite Lord Chesterfield. In a memoir which he prepared with care, but with good discretion left unpublished, he observes, "Queen Anne had always been devout, chaste, and formal; in short, a prude. She discouraged, as much as she could, the usual and even the most pardonable vices of Courts. Her Drawing Rooms were more respectable than agreeable, and had more the air of solemn places of worship than the gaiety of a Court. . . Public and crowded assemblies, where every man was sure of meeting every woman, were not known in those days. But every woman of fashion kept what was called 'a Day,' which was a formal circle of her acquaintances of both sexes, unbroken by any card-tables, tea-tables, or other amusements. There the fine women and fine men met perhaps for an hour; and if they had anything particular to say to one another it could be only conveyed by the language of the eyes. The other public diversion was merely for the eyes, for it was going round and round the ring in Hyde Park and bowing to one another slightly, respectfully, or tenderly, as occasion required. No woman of fashion could receive any man at her morning toilet without alarming the husband and his friends. If a fine man and fine woman were well enough disposed to wish for a private meeting, the execution of their good intentions was difficult and dangerous. The preliminaries could only be settled by the hazardous expedient of letters; and the only places almost for the conclusion and ratification of the definitive treaty were the Indian houses in the City, where the good woman of the house from good-nature, and perhaps some little motive of interest, let out her back-rooms for momentary lodgings to distressed lovers. But all these difficulties and dangers were in a great measure removed

by the arrival of the present Royal Family. King George the First loved pleasures, and was not delicate in the choice of them."[7]

There can scarcely be named any point in knowledge and science, or in their practical application, which has not received great improvement since the reign of Queen Anne. Manufactures and trade, the Fine Arts, public teaching in all its branches, the repeal of barbarous penalties, the order and rule of prisons, the speed and security of travelling, the comforts and appliances of daily life—all these have immensely advanced; and there are new discoveries which in former days even the wildest flights of fancy could never have surmised. But perhaps the same amount of research which serves to bring forward these results in full detail may convince the mind of the inquirer, as it has my own, that the people of Queen Anne enjoyed much the larger measure of happiness.

It is to be observed in the first place how far more widely spread was in those days the spirit of contentment. Men were willing to make the best of the present without a feverish anxiety for the past or for the future —without constantly longing that yesterday might come back, or that to-morrow might come on. The laws were not so good, but the people were better satisfied with them. The Church was less efficient, but was more cheerfully maintained.

My meaning may be further illustrated. The tendency of the people in Queen Anne's reign was I think, according to the figure of speech which we find in the First Book of Kings, "to dwell safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree." The tendency of the present age, unless I much mistake it, would be rather

[7] "On the Mistresses of Kings George I. and II." (MS.). Some other extracts from this Memoir were inserted by me under two different headings in my edition of Lord Chesterfield's Works, vol. ii. p. 439–442. But much the greater part remains unpublished.

CHAP. XVI.

THE AGE OF ANNE.

to contend by ingenious arguments that the vine and fig are not the best of all possible fruit-trees—that we ought immediately to root them up and to plant in their stead some saplings of another kind. It may not be wholly prejudice that views this disposition with regret. Is there any real happiness in such constant yearning and striving for something other than exists? Is it good to live in an age when everything is being improved away off the face of the earth?

But let us view the question in more detail. If we look to the country districts we shall judge perhaps that in Queen Anne's time the harsh features of the feudal system had passed away while some of the milder ones remained. In other words there was no trace of serfdom or compulsory service, but there lingered the feeling of protection due by the lord of the soil to his retainers in sickness or old age. Labour was then no mere contract of work done for value received. Service was still in some degree requited even when it ceased to be performed. As between landlord and tenant also a more cordial spirit, a more intimate relation, appears to have prevailed. There was wholly absent that main cause of alienation whenever at present alienation does occur—the excessive preserving of game. We find it laid down in the Spectator as an admitted truth, that "the sport is the more agreeable where the game is the harder to come at."[8] In those days and in days much later, the return of the shooting season was hailed with pleasure not by the landlord only but by the farmer also. The young squire would cheerily step into the homestead for his midday meal; and sit down with a well-earned appetite to a dish of eggs and bacon, with a glass—or it might be two—of the honest home-brewed, instead of the luxurious luncheon-baskets which according to the present fashion would be spread before him. He would point with some pride to "the birds" which

[8] No. 131, July 31, 1711. This paper is by Addison.

his morning's walk had gained him, and descant at some length on the sagacity and skill of his dogs; for at that time—before the time of "driving"—these were deemed no small part of the enjoyment of the day. In return he would be most warmly greeted and made welcome, undisturbed by any little questions which would be reserved for another time, as of the mouldering floor in the barn, or the leaky roof in the "beast-houses;" and when he again stepped forth he would see his tenant at his side taking interest in his sport, and eager to point out to him the haunts of the nearest coveys. All was cheerfulness and sunshine between the two classes when they met not for business alone.—Surely that was a more manly system—a nobler incentive to country life in the autumn months—than the one which at present in some counties at least too often prevails; when the entire object seems to be ostentatious display—to produce a bulletin of the greatest possible number of killed in the smallest possible number of hours—to station each distinguished guest at the corner of a wood and bid him there stand still while pheasants and rabbits by the score are made to pass before him.

It may be said indeed that at the present day those persons who for political objects are striving by speech or print to sow dissension between the owners and the occupiers of the soil find no argument so ready to their hand or so persuasive as this excessive increase and effeminate pursuit of game. It may be said that in several of our English shires the rabbit is now the best ally of the Radical. But it was not so under Queen Anne, nor even under George the Third.

Passing to the towns and pursuing the comparison of the two periods, we may deem that under Queen Anne there was much less of wealth but much less also of abject poverty. The contrasts were not so sharp, nor stood as it were so closely face to face with each other. Nevertheless in that day also trade was not a little

lucrative. As is stated by Budgell in the Spectator: "I have observed greater estates got about 'Change than at Whitehall or St. James's."[9] And we must not forget that he wrote thus at a period when the salaries and emoluments of public service were by many degrees more considerable than at present.

It would seem, so far as negative evidence can show it, as if under Queen Anne the handi-craftsman and the labourer had no difficulty in obtaining employment without dispute as to the hours of work or the rate of wages. Most grievous is the change in that respect which has since ensued. Let another pen instead of mine relate the again and again recurring tale—how often in this century we have beheld the over-speculation of one period result ere long in the discharge of workmen and the collapse of trade. Let another pen, I say, describe "the old sad story of masters reducing their establishments, men turned off and wandering about, hungry and wan in body, and fierce in soul, from the thought of wives and children starving at home, and the last sticks of furniture going to the pawnshop. Children taken from school, and lounging about the dirty streets and courts, too listless almost to play, and squalid in rags and misery. And then the fearful struggle between employers and men; lowering of wages, Strikes, and the long course of oft-repeated crime, ending every now and then with a riot, a fire, and the County Yeomanry."[1]

Such are the words of an accomplished living writer, not liable certainly to the suspicion of any aristocratical leaning. I am not now concerned in tracing out the causes or seeking to foretell the consequences of those most deplorable scenes—either of that dire, and not at the time to be repelled, distress which results from want of employment, or of that artificial and, as I may call

[9] Spectator, No. 283, January 24, 1712.

[1] Tom Brown's Schooldays, p. 263, ed. 1858.

it, voluntary and self-inflicted misery produced by the systems of Strikes. I only desire at this place to record the fact that none of this suffering, none of this crime, can be traced in the reign of Anne. Can it be doubted to which side the scale of greater happiness inclines?

In Queen Anne's reign the anxiety of the merchants and tradesmen was of quite another kind. It was remembered that, under the late King, the adherents of the exiled Prince had most warmly opposed the system of public loans; and it was thought that, if that Prince should come to be restored, one of his first measures would be to wipe off the National Debt. For this reason we find that in a popular allegory of that period the Pretender is represented as a young man with a sponge in his left hand.[2] But this alarm was so prospective and contingent that it cannot have affected in any serious manner the present comfort of those who entertained it.

As regards the liberal professions and the employments in the Civil Service it may be deemed, from the absence at least of any indications to the contrary, that under Queen Anne there was more of equality between the supply and the demand. The number of men of good character and good education who desired to enter any career was not disproportioned to the number of openings which that career presented. It followed that any person endowed with fair aptitude and common application, and engaging in any recognized walk of life, was in due time certain or nearly certain of a livelihood. Riches and distinction were of course, as in every state of society, the portion of the few, but there was competence for the many. How greatly the times have changed! At present there are few things more distressing to any one who desires to see general prosperity and content prevail than to find start up, whenever any opening in any career is made known, not one or two

[2] Spectator, No. 3, March 3, 1711. This paper is by Addison.

but ten or twenty candidates. Every one of these twenty may be in many cases perfectly well qualified to fill the place that he seeks, yet only one can be chosen. What then is to become of the nineteen?

Of this superabundance however, increasing from year to year, the cause is twofold and easy to assign. The general spread of first class education has on this point perhaps been no unmixed advantage. It has sent forth a crowd of persons of both sexes well qualified by their position for any liberal profession or place of intellectual labour; and it has in the same measure disinclined them, for other posts less literate, or of less rank in the social scale, which in former days would have contented them. Thus it happens that while the number of claimants has immensely increased, the number of places to which they aspire has, at least in some departments, grown less.

It is certainly a great practical hardship, such as we do not trace under Queen Anne or under the first Georges, that a young man entering life with a good character and careful education should see every profession overcrowded, every avenue of advancement hemmed in, that he should be unable in so many cases to earn his bread, and be cast back for subsistence on his family. There is something very grievous both to himself and others in this not his wilful but his compulsory idleness.

I remember that the present state of things in this respect was once ingeniously illustrated in conversation by Lord Macaulay. He pointed out to me, that the ancient device of the Templars had been two Knights upon one horse, to indicate the original poverty of their Order; and he observed that the same device might be as aptly applied to the modern members of the Temple —two barristers at least to one cause!

If however for the grounds alleged, and for some

others that might be added, we come to the conclusion, that in spite of the modern discoveries and improvements individual happiness so far from advancing has receded since the reign of Anne, it by no means follows that this unfavorable change can be imputed as blame to any person or any party. It has perhaps arisen less from any positive legislation than from the natural growth and development in some respects of an aspiring and highly gifted race. But dismissing that branch of the subject there is another in which, not by accident, not by good fortune, nor yet by wisely framed institutions, but by their own lofty spirit, the people of England in the reign of Anne have set us a bright example. I refer to the constancy with which they encountered the ambition of Louis the Fourteenth, and bore without repining until that ambition was humbled the burthen and toil of the war in which they had engaged. At the outset they had no special call to arms. There was no immediate or imminent danger to themselves. Whatever danger to themselves might arise from their too powerful neighbour could be guarded against or be turned aside by a strictly maritime system, such as Nottingham and Jersey desired. But the people of England at that time felt the duty that they owed as a member of the great European family. It was not enough for them to stand free in their insular security if the yoke of France were to weigh on Holland and Germany, on Italy and Spain. Therefore they courageously braved the risk and peril, the cost of money and the cost of men, which a continental war implied; and while the Dutch and the Germans especially shrunk in many cases from their just contingents, England in truth sustained the main brunt of the conflict that ensued. It was this spirit that nerved the arm of Marlborough and gave effect to the statesmanship of Somers. It was this spirit which, a century later, was manifested by the same

nation under almost the same circumstances; arrayed no longer against Louis but the first Napoleon, and guided instead of Somers and Marlborough by Pitt and Wellington. It was this spirit which, in spite of the turbulence of parties and the misconduct of statesmen, has made the reign of Queen Anne a scene of glory and renown, which any Englishman may feel it a pleasure to contemplate and an honor to portray.

INDEX.

ABJURATION, Act of, passed, 33
Addison, Joseph, his party writings, 548. His rise in authorship, 556. His Cato, 556. His character of Sir Roger de Coverley, 560
Albemarle, Earl of, in favour with William III., 5, 11. Defeated at Denain, 535
Almanza, battle of, 296
Almenara, battle of, 432
Anne, Princess, afterwards Queen, her overture to the exiled King, 9. Prejudiced against William III., 34. Succeeds to the Crown, 37. Her character, 38. Her first measures, 41. Crowned in Westminster Abbey, 43. Visits Oxford, 61. And Bath, 62. Goes in state to St. Paul's, 64. Attends the debates, 166. Visits Cambridge, 174. Gradually alienated from the Duchess of Marlborough, 266, 314. Her choice of Bishops, 316. Incensed at the Scottish expedition, 342. Her aversion to Somers, 366. Unwilling to receive any of the Hanover Princes, 372. Her widowhood, 373. Harassed by the Duchess of Marlborough, 400. Her controversy with the Duke, 408. And with the Duchess, 417. Favours the Tory party, 424, 438. Insists on the Duchess's dismissal, 467. Her remark on the project of a Peace, 492. Sharp answer to the Duke of Somerset, 502. Her letters to Godolphin, 533. Purity of her Court, 565
Argyle, Duke of, part taken by him in Scotland, 202. His enmity to Marlborough, 424, 462. Commands in Catalonia, 483, 488
Ashby and White, the action at law, 117, 173
Athlone, Earl of, commands a division in Flanders, 49. His testimony to Marlborough, 54. His death, 97
Atterbury, Dr., a leader in Convocation, 109. Supports Sacheverell during his trial, 411, 413. His petition for fifty new churches, 479. His eloquence, 545
Aylesbury case, account of the, 117, 173

BADEN, Margrave of, besieges Landau, 49. Defeated by Villars, 56. His bickerings with Marlborough, 130. Besieges Ingolstadt, 137. Marlborough thwarted by him, 179. Forces the lines of Haguenau, 188. Defeated by Villars, 214. His death, 300
Bareith, Margrave of, succeeds the

BAVARIA

Margrave of Baden in command, 300. Put to the rout at Stollhofen, 304. Recalled, 305

Bavaria, Elector of, engages with France, 94. His victory at Hochstädt, 95. Joined by Marshal Tallard, 136. His rout at Blenheim, 151. With the French in Flanders, 180. Defeated at Ramillies, 218

Bay, Marquis of, gains the battle of La Gudiña, 399. Loses the battle of Zaragoza, 433

Belhaven, Lord, his great speech against the Union, 260. His imprisonment and death, 369

Benbow, Admiral, his exploits in the West Indies, 60. Dies of his wounds, 61

Berwick, Duke of, his campaign in Portugal, 162. Again in command, 235. Encamps on the Guadarrama range, 237. Takes Cuenca, 246. Gains the battle of Almanza, 296

Blenheim, battle of, 140

Blenheim, Palace, grant and building of, 170

Bolingbroke, Viscount (*see* St. John), his opinion of Marlborough, 72, 74. His remark on the battle of Malplaquet, 395. Goes to Paris. 532. His secret negotiations, 536. His peremptory despatch, 542. Concludes the peace, 544. His friendship with men of letters, 546. His retort on Addison's Cato, 557. Perfection of style in his writings, 558

Boufflers, Marshal, his admirable defence of Lille, 357, 359. Joins Marshal Villars, 391. Succeeds to the command at Malplaquet, 394

Bounty, Queen Anne's, account of, 118

Brihuega, capitulation of, 456

Buckingham, Duke of, dismissed from office, 175. Adheres to Lord Nottingham, 205, 268. Struck off the Privy Council, 269. Restored to office, 440. Promoted, 482

CHARLES

Burgundy, Duke of, at the head of the army in Flanders, 343. Defeated at Oudenarde, 350. His death, 518

Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, his character of William III., 36. His suggestions in debate, 206. Reflects on Bishop Compton, 208. Supports the Scottish Union, 277

CADOGAN, General, afterwards Earl, much trusted by Marlborough, 135. Leads the van at Oudenarde, 350. Aids in the success at Wynendale, 358. Sent to the outposts at Malplaquet, 397. Recalled by the new Ministry, 463. With the vanguard, 485

Cameronians oppose the Scottish Union, 258, 263

Carleton, Captain George, account of his Memoirs, 195

Cavalier, Jean, chief in Languedoc, 162. Enters the English service, 163

Cevennes, insurrection in the, 92. Suppressed, 161

Charlemont, Lord, his panic, 195, 200

Charles II. of Spain, his death, 2. His Will, 3

Charles, the Archduke, declared King of Spain, 102. His reception in England, 112. Sails to Lisbon, 113. Proceeds to Altea, 191. Enters Barcelona in triumph, 198. Besieged by the French, 229. Enters Zaragoza, 240. Marches to Castille, 241. His retreat to the Valencian frontier, 246. Quits the army, 294. His marriage, 360. Refuses Marlborough's application, 419. Takes part in the campaign of 1710, 429. Quits the army again, 451. Inherits the Austrian states, 480. Elected Emperor, 488. Dissatisfied with the Preliminaries, 499

Charles XII., of Sweden, his early

CHESTERFIELD

victories, 10. Encamped at Alt Rastadt, 300. Marches into Muscovy, 303. Utterly defeated at Pultawa, 400

Chesterfield, Earl of, his character of Marlborough, 70. His account of Queen Anne's Court, 566

Churchill, Admiral George, aimed at by the Whigs, 317, 319. Dismissed at Prince George's death, 373

Chevalier de St. George, *see* James

Colepepper, Thomas, his case, 24, 32, 81

Convocation, heats between the two Houses, 109

Cowper, William, afterwards Earl, his eminent qualities, 176. Appointed Lord Keeper, 204. His reproof to Harley, 210. Resigns, 439

Cutts, Lord, his gallant conduct at Venlo, 52. And at Blenheim, 145

DARMSTADT, Prince of Hesse, appears in Catalonia, 163. Left in command of Gibraltar, 164, 189. Joins Lord Peterborough, 192. Killed at Montjuich, 195

Dartmouth, Lord, afterwards Earl of, named Secretary of State, 425. His conference with Marlborough, 464.

Defoe, D., his letter to Gen. Stanhope, 549

Denain, success of the French at, 535

EUGENE of Savoy, Prince, his surprise of Cremona, 56. Gives battle at Luzzara, 58. His meeting with Marlborough, 129. Forward in the battle of Blenheim, 151. Sent to command in Italy, 179, 189. His victory at Turin, 226. Besieges Toulon, 306. Takes Susa, 310. Negotiates with the German Princes, 344. Commands on the Moselle, 347. Joins Marlborough in the battle of Oudenarde, 350. And in the battle

GEORGE

of Malplaquet, 392. Detained at Vienna, 483. His visit to England, 510. Combined with Ormond in Flanders, 518, 523, 530. Views the disaster at Denain, 535

FÉNELON, Archbishop of Cambray, respect shown him by Marlborough, 486

Fleetwood, Bishop of St. Asaph, the Preface to his volume of sermons, 529

Fletcher, of Saltoun, his violent measures, 88

GALLAS, Count de, forbid the English Court, 494

Galway, Earl of, commands in Portugal, 163. Enters Madrid, 237. Retreats from that city, 240. Offers the command to Peterborough, 241. His defeat at Almanza, 296. Returns to Portugal, 343. Loses another battle at La Gudiña, 399. Recalled, 448. His defence to the House of Lords, 466

Gaultier, Abbé, his secret negotiations, 469, 502, 512, 517, 520, 536, 541

General Election of 1701, 30. Of 1702, 61. Of 1705, 173. Of 1708, 366. Of 1710, 443

George, Prince, of Denmark, desires to command the Allied army, 42. Named Lord High Admiral, 46. Supports the Occasional Conformity Bill, 80. His administration of the Navy complained of, 317. His two mortal maladies, 321. His death, 373

George, Elector of Hanover, afterwards George I. of England, appointed to command on the Rhine, 305. His dissatisfaction, 345. Visited by Marlborough, 346. An inefficient chief, 360, 398. Resigns his command, 422. Complains of the Preliminaries, 499

Gibraltar taken by the English, 164. Besieged by the Spaniards, 189
Gloucester, Duke of, his death and character, 8
Godolphin, Lord, afterwards Earl, named First Lord of the Treasury, 12. And Lord Treasurer, 44. Wanting in courage, 165, 166. Makes overtures to the Whigs, 176. Swayed from side to side, 321, 330. His views on the war in Spain, 362. Suspected by Sunderland, 370. His own complaints, 375. His timid course, 408, 418. Dismissed from office, 438. His death, 537. Disposal of his papers, 538
Grace and Free Pardon, Act of, 377
Gregg, William, his treason, 330. Executed, 337
Griffin, Lord, his life spared, 370
Guardian, account of the, 564
Guiscard, Marquis de, his project of a descent in France, 213. Assails Harley, 476. Dies in prison, 477

HALIFAX, Lord, raised to the peerage, 12. Impeached, 20. Supports Lord Rochester, 322. Claims to be Plenipotentiary at the Congress, 375. Moves an Address against the Peace, 517. His friendship with men of letters, 546
Hamilton, Duke of, in favour with the people at Edinburgh, 259. His timorous course, 270. In communication with the Exiled Family, 328. Arrested in Lancashire, 342. His cabal with the Whig chief, 368. Created Duke of Brandon in England, 503. Killed in a duel, 534
Hanover. *See* George and Sophia
Harcourt, afterwards Sir Simon and Lord, impeaches Somers, 20. Becomes Attorney-General, 279. Resigns, 335. Chief of Sacheverell's Counsel, 411. Appointed Lord Keeper, 440

Harley, Robert, chosen Speaker, 30. Chosen again, 63. Named Secretary of State, 122. His dinner to some leading Whigs, 210. Clause carried by him in the Scottish Union, 286. His cabals with Mrs. Masham, 315. His differences with Godolphin and Marlborough, 332. Resigns, 335. Continues to cabal, 424. Named Chancellor of the Exchequer, 438. Wounded by Guiscard, 476. Created Earl of Oxford, 481. *See* Oxford
Haversham, Lord, his speeches, 26, 205, 374
Heathcote, Sir Gilbert, Governor of the Bank; a zealous Whig, 426, 556
Heinsius, Pensionary, in correspondence with William III., 11. A warm friend of Marlborough, 224, 249, 345. His mode of life described by Torcy, 382. Presents a project of preliminaries, 387. His answer to the English Ministers, 490.
Hill, Abigail, her rise at Court, 313. Marries Mr. Masham, 314. *See* Masham.
Hill, John, afterwards General, 'a boy in rags,' 313. Refused a regiment by Marlborough, 408. Obtains it at last, 424. Commands the expedition to Quebec, 488
Hoadley, Rev. Benjamin, his Low Church sermons, 208, 404
Holland, affairs of, 14, 16, 48, 98, 224, 248
Hooke, Colonel, his mission to Scotland, 327
Howe, John, his scurrilous language, 15, 25. Defeated in Gloucestershire, 30. Named Joint Paymaster, 44. Again defeated, 61. Seated on petition, 64. His motion on the Prince's Annuity Bill, 77
Hungary, revolt in, 101. The insurgents defeated, 161

IRELAND, affairs of, 32, 82, 84

JAMES II., of England, his answer to Princess Anne, 9. His death, 29
James Stuart, Prince of Wales, surnamed the Pretender, acknowledged as King by Louis XIV., 30. Attainted in England, 32. Joins an expedition to Scotland, 339. Returns, 341. Serves with the French in Flanders, 347. Intrigues in his favour, 470. His letter to the Queen, 512. Goes to Chalons, 533. His wayward conduct, 540. Departs from the French dominions, 541
Jersey, Earl of, dismissed from office, 121. His communications to Gaultier, 470. Dies of apoplexy, 482
Joseph, King of the Romans, succeeds as Emperor, 179. His death, 480

KENTISH Petition, account of the, 23
Kidd, Captain, hanged for piracy, 21
Kinnaird, Lord, his high sense of honour, 328

LA JONQUIÈRE, Governor of fort St. Philip, 361. His surrender to Stanhope, 363
Leake, Sir John, his Whig politics, 172. Relieves Gibraltar, 189. Off Barcelona, 230. Reduces the island of Sardinia, 361. Named on the Board of Admiralty, 402. Promoted, 440
Leopold, the Emperor, prepares for war, 4. His death, 179
Lille, siege of, 354
Louis XIV., of France, accepts the Spanish Will, 3. Sends a division into Flanders, 14. Acknowledges the Pretender as King, 30. His magnanimity in misfortune, 154. His saying on the siege of Dendermond, 223. Plans an expedition to Scotland, 339. Eager for peace, 378. His majestic presence, 388. His offers to the Allies, 420. Deaths in his family, 518. His new proposals, 519

MALBROOK s'en va en guerre, origin of that popular ditty, 397
Malplaquet, battle of, 392
Manchester, Earl of, his gloomy prognostics, 4. Named Secretary of State, 31
Manley, Mrs., her libellous writings, 554
Mar, Earl of, his quick talents, 257, 260
Marlborough, Earl of, afterwards Duke, named Governor to the Duke of Gloucester, 8. Sent to command in Holland, 28. Obtains the entire confidence of Queen Anne, 41. His Dutch embassy, 42. Commands the Dutch troops, 47. Takes the field, 48. His first campaign, 51. Seized by freebooters, 53. Released, 54. His policy on points of etiquette, 58. Created a Duke, 65. His character, 67. Death of his only son, 76. His campaign in 1703, 97. Returns to Holland, 120. Marches into Germany, 128. His victory at the Schellenberg, 133. And at Blenheim, 140. Goes to Berlin, 160. Honours paid to him in England, 169. And by the Court of Vienna, 171. His campaign of 1705, 178. Visits Vienna and Berlin, 209. His campaign of 1706, 215. His victory at Ramillies, 217. His advice to Heinsius, 249. A pension annexed to his title for ever, 268. Visits the King of Sweden in Saxony, 302. His campaign of 1707, 309. Alleges a decay of memory, 311. His speech in the House of Lords, 323. Supports Godolphin, 330, 334. Visits Hanover, 346. His campaign of 1708,

347. Defeats the French at Oudenarde, 350. His conversation with De Biron, 371. And with Torcy, 383. His campaign of 1709, 390. Wins the battle of Malplaquet, 392. Asks the office of Captain General for life, 401. His controversy with the Queen, 498. Claims the government of the Low Countries, 419. His campaign of 1710, 422. Makes overtures to the Tories, 464. On his knees to the Queen, 467. His campaign of 1711, 483. Returns to England, 495. Breaks with the Government, 498. Charges brought against him, 505. Dismissed from all his employments, 507. Vote of the Commons against him, 513. His challenge to Earl Poulett, 525. Applies for a passport, 538. Goes abroad, 539. His letters intercepted, 547. Libels upon him. 553

Marlborough, Countess of, afterwards Duchess, the favourite of Queen Anne, 41. Adverse to a Dukedom, 65. Offered a pension, 66. Her shrewish temper, 128. Rails against the Tories, 176. And against the Queen, 266. Her contest with Abigail Hill, 314. The Queen's promise to her, 333. Present at the Prince's death, 373. Her arrogant conduct, 400. Her last interview with the Queen, 417. Threatens to publish Her Majesty's private letters, 462. Dismissed from all her employments, 468. Libels upon her, 553

Marsin, Marshal, winters in Bavaria, 124. Routed at Blenheim, 151. Killed at Turin, 226

Masham, Mrs. (*see* Hill), retains her influence with the Queen, 400, 424. Receives the Privy Purse, 468. Her communications to Swift, 501. Her husband raised to the Peerage, 508

Medina, Sir Solomon, his charge against Marlborough, 500

Melfort, Earl of, his intercepted letter, 41

Melville, Earl of, his reports from Scotland, 7

Mesnager, a merchant at Rouen, employed in negotiations, 379. Signs Preliminary Articles of Peace, 492

Methuen Treaty with Portugal, 93, 111

Minas, Marquis das, at the head of the Portuguese army, 236, 240. Defeated at Almanza, 296. Resigns his command, 343

Mohocks, account of the, 511

Mohun, Lord, chosen by Marlborough for his second, 525. Slain in a duel, 534

Mons besieged, 391. Surrendered, 398

NEWCASTLE, Duke of, named Lord Privy Seal, 175. His death, 482

Newton, Isaac, knighted, 174

Nottingham, Earl of, named Secretary of State, 44. His conduct in office, 83. Resigns, 121. Raises the cry of 'the Church in danger,' 205, 267. Struck off the Privy Council, 269. His dissatisfaction with Lord Oxford, 497. Coalesces with the Tories, 500, 504

OBDAM, General, commands a separate corps, 97. His defeat at Eckeren, 99

Occasional Conformity Bill first proposed, 78. Rejected by the Lords, 80. Revived, 110. Again brought forward, 168, 498. It passes, 502

Orange, Prince of, his gallant conduct at Malplaquet, 393

Orford, Earl of, impeached, 21. His character, 375. Named first Lord of the Admiralty, 402. Resigns, 440

Orleans, Duke of, defeated at Turin, 226. Goes to command in Spain, 296. Reduces Aragon, 299. His

secret negotiation with Stanhope, 364
Ormond, Duke of, in command of the Cadiz expedition, 59. At Vigo, 60. Named Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 82. Reappointed, 440. Commands the army in Flanders, 518. Separates from Eugene, 523, 530
Oudenarde, battle of, 350
Overkirk, General, commands upon the Meuse, 98. His gallant charge at Ramillies, 218. Reduces Ostend, 221. His brave conduct at Oudenarde, 352. His death, 357
Oxford, Earl of (*see* Harley), appointed Lord Treasurer, 482. Maintains a resolute tone, 502. Sends his cousin on a mission to Hanover, 513. Acquiesces in Halifax's motion, 517. Answers a speech of Marlborough, 524. Obtains the Garter, 531. His reception of Parnell, 546. Highly extolled by Pope, 547

Packington, Sir John, his petition against the Bishop of Worcester, 64. His character, 110. Not the original of Sir Roger de Coverley, 276
Palatines, case of the, 474
Peers, creation of twelve, 507
Peterborough, Earl of, his jest upon Marlborough, 73. Sent to command in Spain, 190. Appears before Barcelona, 192. His surprise of Montjuich, 193. Rallies his troops, 196. His caustic letters, 200, 233. His winter campaign, 227. Goes on board the fleet, 231. Relieves Barcelona, 232. His high spirit and energy, 234. Marches towards Castille, 239. At Guadalaxara, 241. Leaves the army, 243. Embarks for Italy, 246. Again in Spain, 289. Recalled to England, 292. His comments on the battle of Almanza, 299. Visits Marlborough in Flanders, 309. His case discussed in the House of Lords, 321, 466
Pettekum, M., a go-between in the negotiations, 379
Philip, Duke of Anjou, proclaimed Philip V., King of Spain, 3. Acknowledged by William III., 16. Lands at Naples, 57. His campaign in Italy, 58. Besieges Barcelona, 227. Re-enters Madrid, 453. Fixes his Court at Zaragoza, 459. Selects one of the alternatives for peace, 526
Pope, A., his praise of Harley, 547. Jealous of Addison, 556
Portland, Earl of, consulted by William III., 11. Impeached, 20
Portugal, accedes to the Grand Alliance, 93
Poulett, Earl, named First Lord of the Treasury, 438. Lord Steward, 483. Challenged by Marlborough, 525
Pretender, the. *See* James
Prior, Matthew, his mission to Paris, 490. Left as Chargé d'Affaires, 533. His familiar notes, 546

QUEENSBERRY, Duke of, appointed Lord High Commissioner in Scotland, 6. His character, 85. Again in office, 202, 257, 368
Queensberry Plot, account of the, 114

RABY, Lord, his letters from Berlin, 127. Created Earl of Strafford. *See* Strafford
Ragotzky, Francis, a leader in Hungary, 101
Ramillies, battle of, 216
Regency Bill, passing of the, 206
Rivers, Lord, his controversy with Lord Galway, 294. Not in Marlborough's confidence, 407. His mission to Hanover, 439
Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, named Lord Privy Seal, 482. One of the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, 511

Rochester, Earl of, named Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 12, 32. Becomes dissatisfied, 45. Resigns, 82. His views for Episcopacy in Scotland, 86. Combines with Lord Nottingham, 205, 208, 268. Struck off the Privy Council, 269. Defends Lord Peterborough, 322. Becomes Lord President, 440. His death, 481

Rooke, Sir George, bombards Copenhagen, 10. Off Cadiz, 59. At Vigo, 60. At Barcelona, 163. Reduces Gibraltar, 164. His sea-fight off Malaga, 165. In favour with the Tories, 166. Superseded, 172

Rouillé, President, his mission to Holland, 380. Recalled by Louis, 388

SACHEVERELL, Dr. Henry, his rise and character, 404. His sermon at St. Paul's, 405. Parliamentary proceedings against him, 406. His sentence, 415. Popular manifestations in his favour, 417

St. John, Henry, rising into fame, 78. Named Secretary at War, 122. Moves Supplementary Estimates, 268. Resigns, 335. Becomes Secretary of State, 440. Elected for Berkshire, 443. His conference with Marlborough, 464. Correspondence between them, 485. His criticism on the reduction of Bouchain, 487. His negotiations with France, 489. Seizes the authors of libels, 495. His negotiations continued, 519. His 'restraining orders' to Ormond, 522. Complains of Hanover, 526. Created Viscount Bolingbroke, 531. *See* Bolingbroke

San Estevan, Count, his reply to Charles II., 2

Savoy, Victor Amadeus, Duke of, offended by the pride of Spain, 58. Joins Prince Eugene, 305. Besieges Toulon, 307

Schomberg, Duke of, recalled from Portugal, 163

Scotland, affairs of, 6, 84, 165, 200, 251, 286, 327, 339

Security, Act of, in Scotland, rejected, 89. Passed, 165. Carried also in the General Assembly, 264

Settlement, Act of, passed, 17

Seymour, Sir Edward, dismissed from office, 121. His death, 336

Shovel, Sir Cloudesley, his Whig politics, 172. Returns from Spain, 229. Co-operates in the siege of Toulon, 305. His shipwreck off the Scilly Isles, 311

Shrewsbury, Duke of, his letter from Rome, 22. Named Lord Chamberlain, 418. His alienation from the Government, 500. Sent ambassador to Paris, 534. His last instructions, 542

Slangenberg, General, his personal spleen against Marlborough, 183, 187. Recalled by the States, 188

Somers, Lord, dismissed from office, 5. His advice to William III., 11. Impeached, 20. Acquitted, 27. Writes the King's Speech, 31. Discusses Scottish affairs, 167. Promotes the measure of Union, 209, 211. Presents the Articles to the Queen, 256. Frames a Resolution, 324. His bold manœuvre, 326. His appointment to office pressed, 366. Named President of the Council, 373. Resigns, 439. Designed as Prime Minister, 498. His friendship with men of letters, 546

Somerset, Duke of, his part in the Cabinet Councils, 334. Cabals against Godolphin, 414, 425. Gives his aid to the Whigs, 498

Sophia, Electress of Hanover, named heir to the Crown, 18. Her character, 19. Writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 210

Spaar, Baron, his cruel conduct in Flanders, 55. Slain at Malplaquet, 393

Spectator, account of the, 560
Squadrone Volante, a party in Scotland, 200, 257, 262
Stair, Earl of, his death and character, 271
Stanhope, Alexander, his letters from the Hague, 42, 55, 98, 114, 126
Stanhope, James, afterwards Earl, named Brigadier-General, 176. Second in command at Barcelona, 193, 196. Goes to England, 198. Returns with a body of troops and as Queen's Minister, 230. His military plans, 290. Signs a treaty of commerce, 337. Brings into Parliament a Bill upon the Highland Clans, 342. Commands in Catalonia, 343. His attempt on Port Mahon, 362. His advice that England should retain that conquest, 363. Brings off two regiments from Alicant, 399. A manager at Sacheverell's trial, 411, 421. Again in Spain, 429. His victory at Almenara, 432. And at Zaragoza, 435. Enters Madrid, 447. Surrounded in Brihuega, 454. His capitulation, 456. Spanish ballads upon him, 461
Staremberg, Marshal, commands in Catalonia, 344, 429. His dilatory counsels, 431. His victory at Zaragoza, 435. Wishes to remain in Aragon, 446. His "paper of articles," 452. Lingers at Cifuentes, 455. Gives battle at Villa Viciosa, 457. Retreats, 459
Steele, R., named Gazetteer by Lord Sunderland, 558. Plans the Tatler, 559. The Spectator, 560. And the Guardian, 564
Storm, the, of 1703, 104
Strafford, Earl of (*see* Raby), his mission to the Hague, 483. His instructions, 489. Visits England, 493. Sent to Utrecht, 511
Sunderland, Earl of, his Protest on the Prince's Annuity Bill, 78. His appointment to office pressed, 176.

Named Minister at Vienna, 204. Returns to England, 210. Becomes Secretary of State, 266. His suspicions of Godolphin and Marlborough, 370. Dismissed from office, 425
Swift, Dr., his Journal to Stella, 441. Historical work falsely ascribed to him, 445. His party writings, 548, 552

TACKERS, account of the, 170
Talbot, Bishop of Oxford, his speech on the Scottish Union, 277
Tallard, Marshal, his victory at Spires, 96. Joins the Elector of Bavaria, 136. Made prisoner at Blenheim, 148. Visited by Marlborough, 152. Sent to reside at Nottingham, 169. His correspondence with France, 330
Tatler, account of the, 559
Tessé, Marshal, his description of Toulon, 307
Thistle, Order of the, revived, 91
Torcy, Marquis de, sends an intercepted despatch to the Hague, 337. His diplomacy, 379. Sets off in disguise for the Hague, 382. Returns to Versailles, 387. His negotiations with the English Ministers, 469, 519. Concludes the Peace, 543
Toulon, siege of, 306
Townshend, Lord, joint plenipotentiary at the Hague, 381. Signs a Treaty of Guarantee, 390. Vote of censure upon him, 516
Tweeddale, Marquess of, named Lord High Commissioner, 165. Heads the *Squadrone Volante*, 200

UNION with Scotland, project of, 84, 167, 203. The two Commissions meet, 211. Adjustment of the terms, 251. Passed in Scotland, 272. And in England, 280. Its re-

sults, 281. Bill to render it more complete, 329, 333
Utrecht, Congress opened at, 511. Peace signed, 544

VENDOME, Duke of, in command at the battle of Luzzara, 58. And at the battle of Cassano, 189. Called to Flanders, 222, 343. Defeated at Oudenarde, 350. Undertakes the command in Spain, 450. Recovers Madrid, 453. Pursues the English, 454. Compels them to surrender at Brihuega, 456. Gives battle to the Germans at Villa Viciosa, 457. Enters Zaragoza, 459. His death at Vinaros, 536
Villa Viciosa, battle of, 457
Villadarias, Marquis of, directs the siege of Gibraltar, 189. Commands the Spanish army on Philip's side, 430. Defeated at Almenara, 432. Dismissed, 434
Villars, Marshal, defeats Prince Louis of Baden, 56. His campaign in Germany, 94. Commands in the Cevennes, 161. Defeats Prince Louis again, 214. His success at Stollhofen, 304. Commands in Flanders, 390. His reverse at Malplaquet, 392. His campaign next year, 423. Surprises a post at Arleux, 486. Opposed to Ormond and Eugene, 518. His success at Denain, 535
Villeroy, Marshal, surprised in Cremona, 56. Commands in Flanders, 180, 215.

Defeated at Ramillies, 216. His reception at Versailles, 220

WALPOLE, Robert, first appointed to office, 176. Succeeds St. John as Secretary at War, 336. Persists in resigning, 439. Designed as future leader in the Commons, 498. Charge of peculation against him, 513. Sent to the Tower, 514. His party pamphlets, 548
Webb, General, his victory at Wynendale, 357. Vote of Thanks to him, 373
Wharton, Lord, his profligate character, 175. His able speeches, 206. Named Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 373. Recalled, 440. His sarcasm on the twelve new Peers, 509
William III. of England, his difficulties, 5. Goes to Holland, 7. His letters to Marlborough, 8. Returns to England, 10. His schemes of policy, 11. His impaired health, 13. Dissembles his chagrin, 17. Goes back to the Hague, 28. His speech to his last new Parliament, 31. His death and character, 34. Fruits of his policy, 177
Worcester, case of the, 200
Wright, Sir Nathan, appointed Lord Keeper, 6. Dismissed, 204

ZARAGOZA, battle of, 435

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